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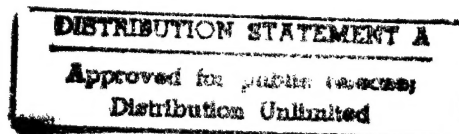
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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2014



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REACTIONS OF EUROPEAN YOUTH GROUPS TO POLISH EVENTS SCORED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 16-18 Apr 82 p 7

[Article by Henryk Kalina: "The Inclination To Preach"]

[Text] One of the aspects in the big game being played, at least formally, around Polish affairs, has turned out to be the relationships among the youth organizations on our continent. This situation, in which expression of an opinion on our matters has become something of a fashion, exists despite the fact that the actual threat to all Europeans, without exception, has been increasing at a tremendous rate for a period much longer than that which began with 13 December 1981.

It is sufficient to recall that in the foreign policy of the United States and some of their NATO allies, the advocates of a cold war, those who want to cancel out the Helsinki gains, are again taking the lead. As a result of the arms race, the introduction of new lethal technologies and weapons, i.e., factors ensuing from the decisions of the US administration and NATO organs, the danger of the explosion of a new arms conflict is increasing. The results would be incalculable, particularly in Europe, i.e., on land that is far from the seat of the Washington military-industrial complex. Hence the Commission for Joint International Contacts in the Polish Youth and Student Unions has expressed the position that "all attempts at moralization and mentorship in relation to our country by some western politicians are being regarded as incompatible with the principles that are binding in international relations".

Unfortunately, these kinds of opinions and attitudes, directed at a sovereign Polish state which has the full right to determine its own fate, have appeared and are appearing in declarations of some youth and student organizations with whom Polish organizations have traditionally closely cooperated. This is still one more form of interference in Poland's internal affairs. The youth movement in our country notes it with regret.

The circle of organizations passing resolutions, acting on different measures, or issuing declarations through their spokesmen, is undoubtedly differentiated. The most extreme positions have been taken by the conservative and Christian Democratic youth groups, as well as their international headquarters, operating on the all-youth and student plane. Particularly those who have the closest contacts with different groups of persons in the West, calling themselves "representatives of Polish youth". The tone of their declarations is very aggressive, often actually provocative.

Some national committees in West European countries have also expressed an opinion--in a more nuanced way. In this group of positions--beside the opinions of such countries as France, Holland and Norway, where there was a considerable reaction--I would call particular attention to the declaration by the British Youth Council on the matter of Poland. Despite the verbal declaration that the "Council is attempting to create good relations among youth of many countries and is dedicated to the further development of detente", there was a clear meddling in our internal affairs. Aside from the already stereotypical pattern of accusations, a "defense" appeared here of the Independent Association of Students (NZS) organization. The same organization that in its foreign activities spoke out really openly in a manner that was not in conformity with the Polish reason of state. It established contacts with rightist, conservative, anti-Polish groups, anticipating "benefits" from them. It also revealed a particular kind of attraction to the openly Trotskyist groups, such as the National Union of French Students (UNEF) "Dijon" in France. NZS also participated in the attempts to break up the progressive world student movement, and the formation of an organization competitive with the International Students Union.

It developed, finally, that some unions of a social-democratic profile also passed "Polish" resolutions. Among this circle, young social-democrats from Sweden, members of the Social Democratic Youth Association of Sweden (SSU), were particularly active, which I would attribute to the presence in that country of a numerous "new" organization from the last few years.

It should also be admitted that a number of organizations treat Polish affairs in a more complex way, since they criticize the policy of interference, practiced by the Reagan administration, including the application of economic sanctions to our country. Some critical voices have also appeared on the tendency to exploit the situation in our country for armaments escalation.

But taking everything as a whole, there is the danger that with the help of the "Polish card", some of the West European youth movements will exert a negative influence on the further development of cooperation on the entire continent, especially within the framework of meetings of the working organs of the European Youth Structure. Fortunately, there is still time to consider this and to refrain from undertakings that would be damaging to a genuine dialogue of young generations of Europeans from all states, without exception, despite their ideological, political or philosophical differences. This willingness to talk and cooperate with all forces in the international youth and student movement, ready to actively work in behalf of detente and disarmament, has been expressed in the already cited declaration of the Polish Commission. The condition: that the sovereignty of all participants in the international dialogue, their equality, be respected and that the principle of non-interference in internal affairs be recognized.

These principles apply also to the dialogue with youth organizations of the FRG. The more so since it is that youth that began with particular intensity to express their opinion on Poland, and meddle in our internal affairs. Their representatives consider themselves to be the most qualified to moralize, even though they themselves did nothing, or were not able to do anything, for the actual normalization of relations between our countries.

The speeches of the Junge Union, a Christian-Democratic Union (CDU) youth organization, were especially presumptuous. Its chairman, a 33-year-old deputy to the Bundestag, Mathias Wissman, was known from his past hypocritical declarations of "friendship" for Poland. Today he has shown his true colors, demanding that all forms of economic cooperation and credit services for our country be stopped, favoring only charitable assistance "which, however, should in no case proceed directly through the state". Is the highly touted "Christian compassion" to be expressed through sanctions and by humiliating the Poles?

The chairman of the Union of German Catholic Youth (BDKJ), Josef Homberg, currently also the head of the FRG Federal Youth Council (OBJR), also tried to "play" the philosophical and denominational affairs. Appealing for the "restoration of human rights", he also willingly submitted a declaration and suggestions to the Catholic Church in Poland. And not for the purpose of recognizing its religious mission.

It is apparent, however, that the inclination to give Poland some kind of "lesson" is typical also of other FRG youth organizations, regardless of whether, in internal politics, they take the same or opposing positions. But they know that moralizing serves the interests of the FRG, it distracts attention from obligations to Poland, which even during the period of the most intensive detente, were not fulfilled. It is important also to present Bonn in the most favorable moral and political position, to erase in public opinion, particularly in the awareness of the youth, everything that was wrong in the past, which from the German side led to a mortal threat to Poland and Europe.

This, of course, takes on various forms. I would include the "anti-Reagan" resolution by the Young Socialists (JUSO), an organization comprising the youth portion of SPD, in the refined forms. It puts what is happening in Poland and El Salvador on the same plane. The position taken by the Bremen City and National Youth Council, is much sharper, actually vulgar and primitive in its tone. As the monthly DEUTSCHE JUGEND, a reliable publication devoted to the politics of the youth in the FRG and already known earlier from articles handling the problem of the cooperation of youth organizations of our countries, reports in its June 1982 issue, that the following was said in Bremen: "All of this reminds us of the assumption of authority by the fascists in 1933". What insolence, or actual ignorance of history! The thought occurs, who, and from where, suggested such a connection to the young people, and for what purpose. The matter is made even more interesting by the fact that Bremen is a union country, ruled by social democrats, and progressive organizations set the tone in its National Youth Council.

Some unions in the FRG (for example, those connected with the "Falken" social-democracy or those close to the FDP Young Democrats) combine their attacks on Poland with broader "analyses". In these documents, along with statements that are undeniable true, are some very odd assessments. The PZPR has become the object of particularly vicious attacks, its role in Polish society, while the position on "Solidarity" is one of total lack of criticism.

In this context, however, I would like to call attention to a significant portion of a resolution from the Young Democrats (Junge Demokraten) Congress, dated March 1982. It states that one of the reasons that Solidarity gained importance was

the "diminishing, within the framework of the policy of detente, fear of German retaliation". It would be hard to more clearly reveal--consciously or involuntarily--what the FRG linked its hopes to with the development of the situation in Poland prior to 13 December 1981. It was anticipated that the young generation in the Polish People's Republic, "numb" to the actual danger, deprived of the awareness, growing with every generation, of the existence of actual, long-range danger, will be more susceptible to manipulation.

Anyway, the Federal Youth Council (DBJR) resolution dated 14 January 1982, which constitutes open interference in the internal affairs of the Polish youth movement, does not hide this fact. What else could have been referred to in the speculations on the "hopes" around "the increasingly more open structure of the Polish youth movement"?

We know that in the politics of the FRG, where youth policy is part of state policy, it was expected that all kinds of diversities of goals (so says the DBJR resolution) among Polish youth in relation to the Polish reason of state, the relationship to the far-reaching political goals of the FRG, would be exploited. Meanwhile, on the matter of "German unity", there is full agreement between the government and the opposition. It was anticipated that lack of coordination in activity and the diversity of Polish partners will make it possible, as occurred in the case of the Independent Association of Students, to win each detail, each nuance, and even an attempt to "buy" people.

There was also the hope that fascination with the advantages of a "youth exchange" will allow the representatives of the Polish youth to forget about the matters which they were persistently reminded of at every occasion: the evidences of the conflict of the FRG's politico-legal practice with the provisions of the 7 December 1970 agreement on the bases for the normalization of relations. We are referring particularly to the matter of school textbooks, where especially in the area of history and geography a great deal of information appears that does not conform with the joint instructions of the textbook commission, and the borders do not represent the real world, but the fiction of Germany of 31 December 1937. The same pertains to other signs of the FRG's legal aggression towards the Polish People's Republic.

However, if anyone had or has any illusions in this matter he must be disappointed. The youth organizations, regardless of what various moralizers say, will, just as before, defend the Polish reason of state. It is in this way, in accordance with the declaration of the Commission for Joint International Contacts in the Polish Youth and Student Unions, that they can best serve in respecting the traditions and strengthening and developing the cooperation of the youth in Europe.

9295

CSO: 2600/538

'ZYCIE WARSZAWY' ENVISIONS FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Wlodzimierz Malinowski: "About a Front of National Accord--Doubts and Expectations"]

[Text] The slogan of the Front of National Accord (FPN) embodies several meanings. Each of them is tied to our imagination, feelings and expectations. Each has a different meaning to the potential partners who will be active in the new social and political situation of our country. However, I'm afraid that many of the participants who support the FPN idea see in it a new panacea for all the shortcomings of our social life.

In actuality, an understanding always amounts to an agreement concerning common goals. It does not solve everything, all the problems and controversies, it solves only those matters which may (or must) be accomplished by working together. Therefore, an understanding will depend on several objective and subjective factors. Among others it will depend on a degree of:

--Social "compulsion" relative to the political subjects which enter into an understanding [there must be a demonstrated need for an understanding];

--a realization of objective "necessity" by the participants in the potential understanding;

--a proper direction of separate (parochial) activities, programs of the individual members towards resolving of matters most essential to the nation.

In other words there will be no understanding unless the potential partners become actual representatives of social needs and interests.

When we speak of an understanding we have in mind a relationship between equal partners. An absence of such equality, an inability of any particular participant in an understanding to express their needs or conditions in the defined, essential areas of social activity, would be a prima facie evidence of a lack of understanding. It is possible, of course, to have an understanding on specific matters in which the participating partners [trade unions, youth organizations, social organizations and self-governing bodies] are just as strong as the political parties. However, even under such conditions the

very characteristics of an understanding give the strongest partners a larger share of benefits and possibilities. Therefore, a national understanding becomes a question of bringing to life, to the sphere of policy decisions, all the social organizations and groupings who accept the most important national values and aims. I don't believe that it will be possible to get away from this line of thinking if we formulate the concept of the Front as a "platform for discussion and understanding." In the first place, the need for participation in such front by partners with a crystallized identity and strength will exclude any possibility to treat the FPN as the only, or even the principal discussion platform for presentation and discussion of social needs and demands.

We should note that the cooperation of strong partners, those with a crystallized identity, reflects on their progress towards achievement--above all--of their own objectives or interpretations. In other words the [Communist] Party and [other] political parties as well as other organizations of similar character or aspirations, will influence their members to accept their own political outlook in applying the aims and means of implementation. The stronger the party the easier it will be for it to gain support for their own aims within the ranks of social organizations. In this manner it is possible for some social organizations to defacto represent the point of view of a particular political grouping. Simultaneously, in unimportant matters which are of no interest to the "big partner," it may actually come to a honest discussion and to an actual formulation of a program and direction of activity.

The danger depicted above is not a figment of imagination. History of the National Unity Front [FJN] bears witness to it.

#### There Are Two Possibilities

--The FPN will be bound by a strictly defined understanding and narrowly defined obligations concerning matters which pertain to the entire nation;

--The FPN will become a political superstructure for all social organizations which do not have the character of a political party, but which legally perform various political functions.

In the first model the basis of a political make-up is the recognition, by the state, of the structure within which, and in relation to which all the participants in the understanding are active. In this, the state is neither a guarantor of the understanding (although such hopes are being formulated), nor is it a member or participant in the understanding (as it was, for example, in 1981, within the well recalled format: State - Church - Solidarity). A socialist state can only be a guarantor of the rule of the working class. Under such conditions the construction of the Front must stipulate, and recognize, the existence of matters, questions or problems in which the Front cannot intervene; matters which by their very nature belong to the sphere of the Party and the political party decisions. Under these circumstances the Front would concern itself with the remaining decisions.



In those "remaining" matters the Front would have the authority to define conditions to solve social problems in a manner binding on all other social and political forces. Furthermore, the political structure and the structure of the Front's sphere of "influences" would be the reverse of the "pyramid" of influences and political structures of actual political parties. While the political parties would concentrate on national social and political activity of a general nature the FPN should concentrate on local and specific matters relevant to social centers, gminas [parishes], cities and settlements. Currently such activity is being conducted by the Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth (OKON). On this scale the FPN would emerge as a decisive social force capable of achieving political decisions.

Within the context of the above described model, the FPN would make determinations and decisions only in certain matters and would not take part in state organization. It would have its own identity which would not be derived from any of the powers inherent to its component organizations. It would also organize its own social activity and become a politically neutral organization.

The second model is--to a certain degree--a complement to the first one. It is based on somewhat different assumptions. The political foundation of its make up is the differentiation between partners and other organizations with a strictly political character and all other social initiatives and organizations. In this it is stipulated that activity of all social organizations is not only an accepted fact but also a fundamental necessity. However, as we so well know, a solution to any given social problem depends on the formation of a corresponding political mechanism and also on a political guarantee of successful operation.

Every social organization is subject to political stimulation and they all significantly influence the social reaction of the principal political actors--the political parties. The model of FPN functioning, which I have proposed, would insure for all social initiatives and organizations a forum and a political "shield" for their daily activity while, at the same time, presenting to the major political forces a realistic partner in discussions and decision making processes. It would assure realistic conditions of socio-political partnership to partners which have a need for each other, and it would present them with a real discussion forum. It would also create favorable conditions for political integration of all forms and phenomena of social activity, guarantee a political representation for all social initiatives and organizations in those cases where they are not "at odds with the rules of the game" within a socialist regime.

The FPN would become an equal partner to political organizations in solving all political problems of nation-wide interest; political parties would become an equal partner to the FPN in solving all local and regional problems. Moreover, the very character of such partnership would cause the FPN to acquire its own political basis and social identity. It is, therefore, possible that within the FPN elements and institutions certain ties could be formed and a feeling of loyalty to the Front would emerge among its members, and what is more important--among its activists.

### This Is Not a Panacea

Of course, the proposed solutions may evoke many doubts. However, I believe that in order for the FPN to become a permanent factor of our social and political life we must accurately define the conditions under which it will be active, its spheres of activity and its capabilities to mobilize public support. If we regard the Front as a panacea or use its concept to mask all our political shortcomings and insufficiencies (one hears: "We need the Front because things are going badly." Does that mean that the moment things go well we will no longer need the Front?), then it would be far better not to get involved in it at all. Under those conditions the Front would become only an illusion, a temporary device for the political process, a means to play up to the people-- then such Front would become a factor of additional moral devastation and one more disappointment.

Is then the FPN possible? Do the dangers presented here make its formation to be nothing more than a deception? I would like to be an optimist. I believe that if we heed these warnings and publicize them widely, explain their meaning, then it will become possible for us to accept a view of the Front which will insure its success.

### The Front Is Needed

It is needed because millions of our citizens do not belong to and would rather not be associated to political parties or other organizations which exert any real influence on politics. Those millions of citizens have at their disposal a tremendous potential for social activity and participation. Existence of a forum for their activity, the question of their participation in social or political activity is a matter which we cannot delay any longer.

Thus, the FPN is a social necessity. But it has to be a real front, a front which is ware of its own social limitations and possibilities. As a Front it will not become a substitute for the state or the politics but a real political partner and a true collaborator in the process of social changes.

9511

CSO: 2600/528



## NEW VOCATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM PROPOSAL DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 April 82 p 3

[Text] A discussion about a need for a change in our educational system has been going on for years. Although schools look forward to having a break from various reforms so that they can concentrate on teaching, most probably they can expect another radical reform. A need for this new reform lies in imperfections of Poland's existing school system and in its alienation, in many ways, from society's needs, economic necessity, and developments in culture, science and technology. What will be a model of the future school system? Only one thing is certain. The model should not duplicate present weaknesses, and it must better prepare children for life. We apologize for this cliché, but we do need a better education to prepare children for the life in the 21st century. We do not know when the rebuilding of our school system will begin. But since in the Sejm [Polish Parliament] and elsewhere there has been much talk about a need for a new bill of national education in the next few years, it is clear that there exists a concept of the future school system at least in outline form.

It seems useful, then, to present existing proposals as well as those which will emerge in the future. What follows is a discussion of one of the proposals, which we believe is controversial but worth looking into because it reflects a multiplicity of possible solutions. First of all, this proposal makes one consider the role and place of liberal arts education, for the importance of vocational education cannot be questioned. It also forces one to consider the relationships which should exist among schools of various levels, and the future of university education which depends for its stature on the stature of student applicants.

"He is fit to go only to a vocational school" is the worst reference that a grade school graduate might receive. Unfortunately, this stereotype, operating in the social consciousness, has its grounds.

Vocational schools, a responsibility of 19 government agencies, have suffered from neglect and limited expenditures, and they have all but gone under.

So far all efforts to raise the status of vocational training have been temporary and transitional. These efforts have included a requirement of financial assistance to vocational schools by enterprises, increased allocations of machines and raw materials for school shops, and a proposal for a change from 2-year to 3-year vocational schools. Among new, long-term proposals, worth

looking into, are "guidelines for vocational education," devised by Professor Tadeusz W. Nowacki, director of the Institute of Vocational Training. According to the guidelines, the whole school system must be radically changed, not just vocational education.

Professor Nowacki has proposed a change from the existing grade school education, based only on memorizing facts, into the 8-year "polytechnic school of work." This new kind of school would emphasize practical training. As early as the first grade, students would have to take a course called "Learning and Working," and in the seventh and eighth grades every student would take three practical training courses a year as part of the vocational orientation program.

The next stage would be a 4-year vocational school at highschool level, with approximately 120 programs which would provide students with basic vocational training. Each program would be divided into narrow specializations. Thus grade school graduates would have a very wide selection of courses to choose from. Specializations offered by the programs would include such traditional vocations as lathe operator or locksmith, as well as brand new ones such as administrative assistant, bank clerk, dormitory counsellor, beautician, or hotel clerk.

The school curriculum would focus on practical training in a selected vocation. Every year the number of liberal arts classes and theory courses would diminish, while practical training would increase. For example, first-year students would have classes 4 days a week and practical training 1 day a week, but fourth-year students would have 3 days of practical training, 1 day of theory and 1 day of other coursework.

Students and graduates of various kinds of schools would have an opportunity to supplement their education and practical training by taking various extracurricular courses. There would be 3-year vocational schools for graduates who displayed special abilities, interests or skills while holding a job.

In the proposed system, most graduates of the vocational schools at high school level would have definite job skills, for traditional high schools as well as artistic and experimental schools would exist only sporadically.

Moreover, the new school system would open up to our society a new road to advancement: not through earning ever new diplomas, as it has been the case so far, but through raising job skills in the vocation one has been trained for.

Having graduated from high school, everyone interested in applying to a university would be required to work for 2 years in one's vocation. During that time, young people would be registered in centers of continuing education where they would study for university entrance exams under the guidance of experienced teachers. Such centers would organize home study courses from the point of view of requirements at various universities.

A full implementation of this proposed system would be dependent on "the right of every citizen to 12 years of state-supported education and the requirement of 10 years of mandatory education." Hence, for example, if someone takes 10

years to complete 8 years of grade school, then he would still have 2 years from his "educational allocation" left, and he would be able to use those years to enroll in a long-term training program away from his job, in a high school for adults, or in a folk or open university.

As this general overview shows, Professor Nowacki's proposal would revolutionize the Polish school system by bringing it closer to the needs of the society and the economy, and to school models throughout the world. Everywhere schools primarily teach a vocation, and in the United States or Sweden, for example, there are no liberal arts schools comparable to ours.

Professor Nowacki has proposed a remedy for the ailing vocational schools. The necessity of rebuilding this segment of the school system cannot be questioned. But should the proposed changes go that far? Is the proposed program not another extreme? To be sure, the model of liberal arts education, which has been pushed in our country, has failed. To be sure, grade school education is one-dimensional and based on memorization, and the curriculum is overloaded. High schools have become almost a natural, mass-scale extension of grade schools, but at the same time they are far from the traditional classical lycee. A considerable number of high school graduates, who find out that university entrance exams are too difficult a barrier for them, are people without a vocation or specific skills, and hence they are socially useless. If one looks at their situation, then the proposed model, in which high schools are to teach students marketable skills, seems truly attractive.

On the other hand, the vision of the vocation-oriented school system is almost nightmarish. Humanities courses, which are already scarce, would have to be further reduced in the 12-year school program. It will be simply necessary to limit the coverage of history, Polish and other subjects. Would not this offer an easy way to remove humanistic and intellectual ideals from the school program? We are already complaining that our young people do not know Polish history.

Moreover, according to Professor Nowacki's proposal, every 15-year-old would have to make a decision about his or her career or vocation, which is the most important decision in one's life. One might guess that in many or maybe even most instances such a decision would not be always the most thoughtful one.

The failure of the 10-year school experiment has probably taught us to be careful in approaching educational novelties. Despite official enthusiasm, the 10-year school experiment produced fears in society that it would result in a befuddled generation of half-wits. Now we can also expect a similar reaction, based on fears that the reformed schools would be producing a befuddled generation of dumb-witted drudges.

Therefore we wish to invite our readers to consider together what should be the model of our school system. Many people have their own experiences, thoughts, and observations, worth sharing with others, especially with people who will decide about the future shape of the Polish school system.

## PZPR ACTIVITIES AT RADOM ENGINEERING SCHOOL DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 3 Mar 82 pp 16, 17

[Article by Magdalena Wasio: "The Daily Routine at the Radom Higher School of Engineering"]

[Text] We all know about what happened during the heavy battle fought by our comrades in Radom at the Higher School of Engineering [WSI], a battle whose ultimate objective was to preserve the socialist character of this institution. Like other institutions of higher education around the country, the Radom WSI is now open and classes are back in session. Life is starting to get back to normal, even though martial law has introduced some special rigors of a disciplinary nature. But the term "normal" does not mean that things are just like they used to be.

A lot of things need to be changed. This is especially true in the case of working methods. I knew from the conversations I had had at the Vovivodship Committee offices in Radom that the comrades at WSI were aware of this. But what are they doing to make sure that the need for change is transformed into something more than just a perception, to make sure that this need for change is addressed in a substantive way as a part of the daily agenda? This is the question that was on my mind as I knocked on the door of the PZPR School Committee of the Radom WSI.

The three secretaries of the school organization, Wojciech Czerwiec, Andrzej Kalotka, and Andrzej Firkowski, stress that the most important task of the moment is to give young people a chance not only to carry on with their studies, but also to engage in public service activities. There is a double meaning to their use of the term young people, that is, they are referring both to student body attending classes and also to younger members of the faculty staff.

"During the strike," says comrade Czerwiec, "the attitudes of not only the faculty, but also the student body were defined in clearcut terms. Generally speaking, it should be said that while the strike was going on the student body did a better job of passing the test than did members of the faculty. Anyway, the latter were responsible for instigating this strike. The young people at the school put up a long resistance to, among other things, the NZS [Independent Students Association] 'assault' mounted from other schools. We witnessed many positive examples of the stand taken by our young people, including both those who belong to the [PZPR] organization and those who do not.

"In the course of reopening the school we first of all had to solve the problem of what to do about the faculty. After the screening process [weryfikacja] was taken care of, we wound up replacing around 85 percent of the school's administrative staff. Most institute directors are now young people who have permanent ties with Radom. These are the people to whom we are flashing the green light. On the other hand, the attitudes displayed by a majority of the independent research workers did not live up--to put it mildly--to our expectations. We removed these people from administrative positions, but we let them carry on with their substantive work, i.e., providing advanced training for young members of the faculty, cooperation with industry, research work, and so on. We will be keeping a very close watch on how they perform these various tasks.

"In any event, the declaration of martial law is helping to make it more likely that order can be restored in various areas of school life. I would say that some of the natural and normal rules that ought to be enforced in a school have been reinstated, e.g., discipline, punctuality when it comes to accumulating credits for coursework, taking exams, and graduation, and so on. Anyway, during the period just before the strike we were witness to anarchy and the blurring of standards and jurisdictions. In order to perform such simple functions that are a natural part of the educational process, such as a written test for example, one sometimes had to spend several days in negotiations with lecturers and students. This had nothing in common with the principle of student self-government. This led to a sharp drop in the quality of education. The current tightening up of disciplinary measures is undoubtedly a source of discontent on the part of a large portion of the student body. Still, they will have to accept this situation and knuckle under to the rigors of the academic process."

"In trying to get things back to normal here at WSI," says comrade Kalotka, "we were confronted with the problem of putting together a platform of social and political action for the student body. The SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] had been suspended, and this was formerly the most popular organization with students. In our opinion, a resurgence of politically inspired activism in this organization, if it is reinstated, will be very difficult. We came to the conclusion that we could not wait. So, we decided to clear the way for party members to play a more active and more visible role as participants in student activities programs."

"We thought this over for a long time," added comrade Firkowski. "It should be remembered that during the strike this small group of students, which indeed numbered no more than 30, was regarded as the black sheep of the family. And in spite of this they still did not turn in their party membership cards. Their outlook on life is a critical, skeptical one, but they are first and foremost young people, full of energy, and they have already passed their first trial by fire. So, the preliminary diagnosis was that we should go ahead. Now comes the following question. Namely, what kinds of opportunities exist that would permit these party members to play a more active role? And it was at this point that the problem arose as to what kind of organizational framework should be set up. Student party members used to belong to party organizations attached to faculties, where they were decidedly in the minority, and they

often lacked the 'stick-to-itiveness' it takes to get their views across within these faculties. This has got to change. For this reason also, the school basic party organization concluded that it is necessary to set up a school-wide party organization for students. And this in fact is what was done. We are having our first meeting of this organization today, and we are looking forward to hearing what people have to say at this meeting."

"The action program of the students party organization is a very important issue," says comrade Czerwicz, "insofar as we want to have this organization exert a real influence on the school as a whole. We, of course, have a preliminary plan for such an action program, since, if we did not, we would not have even come forward with a proposal like this. We were thinking that this organization should address itself first and foremost to dealing with student problems--social and human services problems, educational problems.

Even trivial problems. As we all know, lives are often ruined over trifles. Party members ought to address themselves to these seemingly minor problems; in so doing it will be easier for them to gain popularity among the student body. Of course, the question remains as to what should be done in the political action area. As of right now, we believe that party members are not ready to engage in ideological debates or to mount an ideological offensive. At today's meeting we should also give a hearing to how they feel about all this and what they think needs to be done in this area.

"There are various possible ways of dealing with this problem. For example, the party organization could assemble a group of a few dozen people and run them through an intensive training program in political science, propaganda, and even psychology. Such a group might be able to play a very important role. We ourselves know how we fared during the strike. We experienced bouts of depression on more than one occasion during this period. But even then there were always a few comrades around who would take a firm stand and then the rest follow."

"Over the long run," says comrade Kalotka, "the school-wide student party organization will become a natural link in the process whereby university students are recruited into the party. The party has to be transformed into a dynamic organization. Based on past experience, we know that it is not now a dynamic organization. Our reflexes are not quick enough, we are not militant enough, we are internally disorganized, and we do not show enough discipline in the course of fulfilling the tasks which we set for ourselves. This has got to change. Now more than ever we have to take a harder look at the political realities of the situation in which we are operating. Many people are keeping quiet, many are vacillating, and some are fed up. A party whose ranks include any of these kinds of people will never be a vanguard party. But this is a separate problem, and anyway it is now time for the meeting of the student party organization to be called to order...."

He walked with me on our way to the meeting. He was slender, tall, and wore glasses. A student and party member. At one point he said: "The party has lost the students for a long time to come. What is in store for them after they graduate? The whole burden of putting all of this right is going to fall on our shoulders."

He was right in much of what he said, I thought, but what conclusions will they draw from all this as far as they themselves are concerned?

The meeting was attended by 25 people. The participants were a little bit surprised by the fact that, in addition to the two secretaries of the school organization, comrade Grabowska, secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee, was also attending the meeting. And yet, after some brief introductory remarks by the first secretary of the school committee, comrade Czerwicz, a lively debate got under way.

Social problems were at the top of the discussion period agenda. In the very first statement made on this subject the view was expressed that maybe it would be better if the school-wide party organization did not concern itself directly with these problems. Why? Since the prevailing opinion is that whoever manages to take care of such problems will personally be the greatest beneficiary. This statement had a bitter ring to it having been expressed so matter-of-factly by a very young person. And so the party organization is not supposed to intervene in this area of activity at all? And yet it has to get involved in these matters, but it should do so through the social affairs committees set up in the faculties at the instance of the school-wide party organization. The same approach should be taken to the launching of an initiative for the reactivation of the residents councils in the student dormitories. The discussion of these two matters was followed up by a host of others, i.e., loans for married students, the feasibility of reactivating a club and renovating its equipment, a proposal to set up a radio station and get it on the air as soon as possible, since there is a great need for information, organizing tutorial assistance programs for younger students, making vacant spaces in dormitories available to unmarried students, and so on.

A separate category of problems revolved around how students felt about the strict disciplinary rules now being enforced at the school. What bothers them the most? The monitoring of lecturers while students are in class; the keeping of parent-teacher correspondence notebooks, which are considered to be a ridiculous practice at the university level; the fact that only one door per building is left unlocked. But the biggest complaint was over the fact that the summer semester had been extended to run through June, July, and August. "Who wants to study during the summer," they asked.

However, the discussion period was not dominated by these matters. It was pointed out that to focus exclusively on social services activities would greatly limit the overall scope of the party organization's activities. This is because life dictates that a party organization should address itself to difficult political and ideological problems. At the same time, everyone agreed, the organization lacked what it takes to make a case for its point of view. What follows are some of the statements made concerning this important problem.

"There are many things which we are not able to explain to our fellow students, especially when it comes to those things which are taking place 'at the top.' We do not have any arguments of our own to bring forward during debates; we are being drowned out by arguments advanced by 'Radio Free Europe.'"



"Many people are saying that the party does not want to listen. And we ourselves do not know enough about what is going on. Why don't we have access to information reports being circulated within the party? After all, there are bulletins and special reports on certain subjects, but none of this ever reaches us. Sincerity by itself is of no help when what you need for a debate are facts, facts, and more facts."

"We know that prior to the Lodz strike students were being trained intensively by 'Solidarity.' And what is happening with us? I doubt that there is a single candidate member of the PZPR who has a thorough knowledge of the party statute. We ought to stop and think about what kind of training we should be getting, since without such training we are not going to accomplish much of anything, not even if we do an excellent job of settling all kinds of personal problems."

I think that it was a good thing that the Voivodship Committee secretary, comrade Grabowska, took part in the meeting. I believe that if the demands voiced by these young people had simply been relayed to her in report form, she would not have had any idea of the emotional fervor, degree of commitment, or even the certain sense of helplessness exhibited by this group of party youth. Those who really do believe that the party has lost out with university students for a long time to come contradict this contention with their own attitudes and sense of commitment. They need help, a lot of help, even though from time to time they also need to be addressed with a few sharp words. And this is exactly what they heard from comrade Grabowska in reply to the question "who wants to study during the summer?"

"If necessary, students will attend classes through June, July, and August. This if the price of university strikes."

In her extemporaneous remarks comrade Grabowska offered the assistance of the Voivodship Committee in dealing with certain kinds of problems. Above all, as she pointed out, she was greatly pleased by that part of the discussion period in which comments were made about the need for information and training. The Voivodship Committee has information and propaganda materials. All that is needed is a systematic effort to obtain these materials. It has been too soon since the school was reopened, and this is why this matter has been overlooked by both sides. She also suggested that consideration should be given to drawing up a list of subjects that are of special concern to the student community, and the school party organization and the Voivodship Committee would then try to bring in specialists who would lecture on these subjects and with whom it would be possible to talk things over.

Assurances were also given that assistance would be forthcoming in dealing with troublesome social and human services problems of the student community.

The school-wide student party organization of the Radom WSI was duly constituted at the party meeting held this day, that is, on 4 February 1982. A discussion was held on the overall objectives of the organization. It was decided that a detailed action program would be drawn up in the near future. What will be the fate of this party organization and what kinds of activities will



it be engaged in in the future? How many of its goals will be realized and how many not? Will they be as energetic and strong as they would like to be? And might it come to pass that this group of young people will form the nucleus of the youth organization that is sooner or later bound to start functioning at this school? Time will have to pass before there can be any answers to these questions. We made appointments to come back in a couple of months for followup meetings, and by that time it will be possible to examine the first lessons learned from the organization's substantive action program.

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ZIELONA GORA PARTY PLENUM HELD

Voivodship Plenum Meeting

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 8 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ewa Tworowska, Stanislaw Fertlinski and Zdzislaw Grzyb: "Administration Efficacy in the Shaping of Voivodship Reality"]

[Text] Last Friday, for the first time since 13 December, when martial law was introduced in our country, the PZPR Voivodship Committee assembled at a plenary session in Zielona Gora. The deliberations of the voivodship party echelon took place, therefore, under new political circumstances and following important decisions, which today are already of political significance, of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] which put an end to the process of socialist disintegration in the nation.

"The period in which we must live and work today," stated KW [Voivodship Committee] First Secretary Jerzy Dabrowski, "requires maximum effort from all of us because matters of the greatest importance for the country and for our party are being decided now."

At the same time, he sincerely thanked the party aktiv and all those rank and file members of the PZPR who, during this eventful period, demonstrated energy, self-sacrifice and readiness to perform party and civic duties.

The following participated in the deliberations of KW: head of the Central Committee Economic Section, Stanislaw Gebala; plenipotentiary of the Central Committee Politbureau, Mieczyslaw Szymanski; chairman of WRN [Military National Council], Henry Stawski; the governor of Zielona Gora, Zbigniew Cyganik and members of the central party authorities from Zielona Gora Voivodship.

After going through the order of the day for the deliberations and the selection of a resolutions and motions committee, the KW plenum proceeded to discuss the fundamental question.

In accordance with the decision of the previous plenary session, the implementation of tasks of the state administration, which result from government operational programs in the area of the most important socioeconomic problems of the voivodship, was examined and evaluated.

These issues were presented by the governor of Zielona Gora, Zbigniew Cyganik, who, at the same time, described the goals and directions of activity of subordinate, administrative and managerial units.

In presenting the economic situation of the voivodship, he stated that industrial production in 1981 was smaller by 10 billion zlotys; i.e. 15 percent less than that of the preceding year. Twenty-eight percent fewer residential units were turned over for occupancy than had been projected; the procurement of slaughter cattle decreased 18 percent and that of milk--6 percent. The monetary income of the population increased by over 32 percent. The crowning point of the process of destabilization and deterioration of the economy was the infamous strike in Lubogora, which resulted, among other things, in 180 pairs of footwear not reaching the market, as well as 170 shirts, 130,000 pairs of hosiery, thousands of meters of fabrics, furniture and household products, and 130 apartments not being turned over to those waiting for them.

It was not until martial law that elementary possibilities of economic functioning and normalization of life were created. The principal attention of the martial law administration is concentrated on assuring the peaceful functioning of the production sphere, assuring bearable living conditions for residents and protection of the interests of the poorest classes. The supply of food is and remains a painful issue. A determined battle was declared on indolence, human incompetence and manifestations of speculation and wastefulness of products and materials. The protection of consumer interests requires the doubling of efforts for the conscientious fixing of prices on products and services. Despite all kinds of difficulties, the large production potential ought to be used more efficiently. Conditions and possibilities for this do exist; however, it depends to a large degree on the people and especially on managerial cadres. It is possible to overcome many problems with our own efforts, if only in the area of activating the production of spare parts for machinery and also by means of better utilization of local raw materials, by-products and recycled material. Great opportunities for the enrichment of the market with sought-after products exist if this road is followed.

The procurement of agricultural products is not proceeding well. Estimates reveal that last year [1981], private farmers collected 180,000 tons of grain and of this amount they committed themselves, in the form of contracts, to sell tons to the state. Barely 15,200 tons of grain were purchased, while during this time 35,000 tons of bread, 47,600 tons of fodder and 8,600 tons of sowable material were supplied to rural areas. This simple account demonstrates that farmers received six times more grain and grain products than they themselves had sold.

Voivodship authorities are undertaking various activities in order to stimulate agricultural production in this difficult situation of market shortages and shortages of industrial supplies which are indispensable for rural areas. However, it is obvious that agriculture will not receive large supplies. Therefore, we must make use, as efficiently as possible, of what is available; i.e. land and machinery. The administration will do everything possible on its part in order to fulfill completely the tasks outlined in the government operational program for agriculture and rural areas.

Next, the governor presented a complex of housing construction problems as well as those pertaining to the housing and communal economy. The housing situation in some cities is simply dramatic. Three to four years ago, 3,000 new housing units were made available for occupancy annually. Last year, only half of that amount was made available. Under difficult financial conditions of the state, private construction ought to be developed rapidly. Assistance from the authorities for prospective builders will be comprehensive. What is available should be divided up more fairly, current repairs ought to be expanded, rapid decapitalization of housing funds should not be allowed to take place. In the communal economy, all of the attention will be concentrated on the implementation of tasks arising from operational programs and which will primarily deal with water, heat and gas supplies. The program of preschool care and improvement of teaching conditions in elementary schools will be implemented consistently. In 1981, the number of places in kindergartens rose by over 2,500. This year [1982], the construction of 14 additional kindergartens will be completed which ought to guarantee the positive fulfillment of social needs in this field.

After an extensive outline of the administration's tasks in the introduction of economic reform, the governor stated, among other things, that the mistakes of the past and the destruction of the economy in the past months caused our possibilities to be much smaller than in previous years; that we will not be able to fulfill many justified expectations and even modest aspirations. However, we can make our life easier, eliminate many burdens and overcome difficulties more quickly through increased labor and social discipline, mutual goodwill and willingness to render mutual assistance. Unfortunately, we are constantly dealing, both on an individual and on a collective scale, with squandering our common good and disrespect for common property. In work establishments, how often it is that we think in specific terms, with only our own interest in mind. For this reason, the putting into operation of such needed investments as bakeries, boilerrooms and water intakes has been delayed.

Martial law lay bare many imperfections in the functioning of the economy and of the administration. By the concept of decentralization, how often it is that we erroneously understand solely organizational changes and this on the central level. We forget about independent thinking and actions; about seeking out our own, best possible solutions and about responsibility. Legal and administrative regulations as well as carried out personnel changes will not alter this. The collective awareness of the necessity for better work and actions is indispensable.

The general responsibility of the Civil Service is, in accordance with the legal order in force, to protect the observance of the law.

We must eliminate numerous shortcomings and weaknesses and this also pertains to many public utility institutions and to economic administration. Knowledge, modesty, quick action, goodwill, the right kind of political attitude--these are some of the traits indispensable for the proper functioning of the Civil Service.

The first person to speak in the discussion was Augustyn Szerszen, a farmer from the village of Szczaniec. A part of his presentation was devoted to the social conditions of the villagers. The state pays a great deal of attention

to these problems in the city and in work establishments. However, in rural areas, in the opinion of the discussant, these matters are always waiting for radical solutions, if only such things as the guaranteeing of places for children in kindergartens and surrounding older and lonely people with social care. In referring to the report paper, he [the farmer] presented examples of wastefulness and inefficiency, the consequences of which are borne by farmers. While repairing roads, work crews from local road enterprises at the same time, damage drainage installations. Now it is necessary to build them anew. Therefore, he claimed that administrative departments should strengthen their control over enterprises which carry out any and all work in rural areas.

"From the first days of martial law, we have involved our party aktiv in helping to activate the work of primary party organizations [POP]," said Jan Straszewski, first secretary of KM [City Committee] in Nowa Sol, in his pronouncement. At the present time, the most important matter in party work is to establish a bond with the work force in places of employment. The Regional Party Work Center [ROPP] appears to be very helpful in this activity. In speaking about the work of the administration, he gave a reminder that the average citizen evaluates the authorities on the basis of how they handle his personal matters. Any and all transgressions in the area of citizen/official department [relations] have a negative influence on this evaluation. For example, the delay in the distribution of ration cards for rationed articles was blamed by the people not on administrative officials but on the authorities.

The next person to speak was Bogumila Maciag, member of the Executive Board of the PZPR KW. She took up the matter of the obligation to carry on work for the duration of martial law. The "bluebirds" [free loaders], well known to employment departments of local government bureaus, should be directed to urban cleaning operations. There is no one to clean streets, to remove garbage or to take care of graves at communal cemeteries. Persons who are notorious in avoiding work should be forced to do it. The next subject to be presented was the passing of the Teacher's Charter at the last session of the Sejm. Comrade B. Maciag feels that increasing the salaries of teachers to the average wage level of the engineering-technical cadre is justified. After all, it is the teachers who mold new generations of future citizens as well as society. Up to now, this occupation was not highly regarded among young people vying for a student's record of courses taken [indeks]. That is why the young teaching cadre bear little resemblance to their older colleagues who are greatly committed to teaching.

The next speaker was Jan Zakrzewski, president of the Voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles [WZKR] in Zielona Gora. In connection with the approach of spring work in the fields, he proposed the resumption of the activity of agricultural circles and organizations. He turned to the KW plenum for support of this proposal. The decision in regard to new principles of financing the activity of agricultural circles also requires acceleration. So far, there have been no executive orders. for example, in the matter of crediting and setting prices for services. In regard to this last matter, the farmers have many reservations.

The next discussion participant was Edward Makos, secretary of KZ PZPR [Plant Committee of the Polish United Workers Party] in the Construction Combine [KB]

of Zielona Gora. He touched upon the subject of economic reform in the field of construction. As early as last August, workers at the KB were concerned about the lack of interest on the part of the proper services in the plant and the preparedness of the enterprise to introduce economic reform. In the meantime, many irregularities have to be straightened out in this area of the economy. Only the executors are blamed for the improper implementation of investments while, after all, the final outcome depends, to the same degree, on the investor, planner or supervisor. A serious mistake is the lack of any kind of advance planning in the area of construction and this, after all, is essential for the proper implementation of investments. Each of the construction enterprises should know at least a year in advance what and where it will build during the following year. Presently, the executors are paying for planning mistakes. An additional difficulty in construction work is the lack of basic tools. A Construction Workers' Charter was passed, but its introduction was postponed no one knows for how long. At present, this ministry is deprived of all financial incentives with which it could exert an influence on workers and on the engineering-technical cadre.

Bogdan Keller--director of the Communal and Residential Management Enterprise [PGKiM] in Gubin, presented a proposal of reexamination of the drafted changes in the structure of the enterprises of this ministry.

The next discussant was Zenon Sibilski, the first secretary of the PZPR KM in Zary. He described the state of implementation of all kinds of investments in his town as highly dissatisfactory. There is no indication that it will improve in the immediate future. Instead, the speaker devoted the main portion of his presentation to the managerial cadre. At present, the influence of party echelons on the heads and directors of enterprises is diminishing completely. Recently, an evaluation of these people was conducted. As it turned out, there is no pattern according to which persons holding managerial positions would be evaluated. In the classification of each of the persons, something different was taken into consideration. Many representatives of the managerial cadre ought to be replaced but there are problems with finding replacements. Young people are totally unprepared to carry out managerial functions. There is also a lack of a full definition of who is supposed to appoint and recall whom; where the rights of the currently suspended self-government end and where those of the charter organs begin. The practice that has prevailed up to now indicates that persons occupying management posts, as a result of winning in competition, are there totally by accident and are unprepared to carry out their new role. In conclusion, Z. Sibilski emphasized the weak bond between the voivodship and the local administration. Some of the voivodship services offer inadequate assistance to local workers.

Jozef Lang, from the rural commune of Nowogrod Bobrzanski engaged in polemics with one of the preceding speakers on the issue of the activity of the GS [Rural Commune Cooperative] in this rural commune. In speaking of reserves in agriculture, he felt that it was necessary to return to traditional methods of land cultivation if only in the area of using natural fertilizers.

The manager of the Economic Department of the PZPR Central Committee who participated in the deliberations, Stanislaw Gebala, devoted his presentation to the internal and external conditions which affect the normalization of economic

life and discussed the immediate and long-term anticrisis activities undertaken by the government. The success of all the plans depends, to a large extent, on party activity and on their recapture of social trust. Organizations and echelons must take on and solve with great consistency the vital issues concerning residents, those issues which appear to be minor but which, as a whole, affect the strengthening of party authority and the building of social understanding. It is not always the big problems which decide about social atmosphere on a work establishment and community scale but the small ones which remain unsolved for years. This should be remembered in daily political work.

"The enemy--political reaction," said, among other things, S. Gebala, "has not laid down its arms; it has not been done away with. It is taking up and will continue to take up destructive action; it will sow mistrust in our program; it will provoke and undermine. It should not be forgotten that calm cannot be allowed to put us to sleep; cannot demobilize us. That is why ideological-political party activity cannot grow weak. The sources of Poland's crisis and the ruinous calculations of political opposition should be made known; we should talk about what it is that we are fighting for and what our plans are." These matters will also be the topic of discussion at the upcoming session of the Central Committee at which an evaluation will be conducted of the situation within the party and tasks will be outlined for the strengthening of its ideological-political unity.

The chairman of the resolution and proposals committee, Tadeusz Roksela, presented a draft of the resolution of the plenum. The resolution was passed unanimously (the text is published on page 1).

In the organizational portion of the deliberations, without the participation of guests, a series of internal party matters was looked into.

The KW secretary Zbigniew Nieminski presented a report on the implementation of proposals and resolutions presented during the previous session, on 14 November of last year [1981]. There were 14 of them [proposals and resolutions], most of which dealt with the social and political problems which appeared during the period of strike intensity in the voivodship. The voivodship echelon solved them as they occurred; others, as for example, the modification of party structure in the PGR's [State Farms] are implemented in stages. Reported economic matters are taken care of with similar consistency.

In the following point of deliberations, in accordance with the decision of the previous KW plenum, the chairman of WKKP [Voivodship Party Control Committee], Kazimierz Waskiewicz, gave an extensive report on the activity of the Voivodship Party Control Committee for the period from 1 June of last year. We announced the results of its work in our "GAZETA" [GAZETA LUBUSKA] in the publication regarding the plenary session of WKKP in the issue from 27 January of this year [1982].

Next, changes in the membership of the Voivodship Committee were carried out. The following KW members were recalled: H. Rosinska from Bobrowko and J. Cholewinski from Sulechow as well as Z. Paruszewski from Kozuchow.



Those gathered approved the plan of work for the Voivodship and Executive Committee of KW for the first quarter of this year [1982].

The plenary deliberations of the Voivodship Committee were preceded by the session of the KW Executive Board. Personnel matters were discussed at this session which were then presented for deliberation of the plenum and current problems of the political activity of the voivodship echelon were also discussed.

#### Plenum Resolution

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 8 Feb 82 p 1

[Text] The difficult economic situation dictates searching for various ways out in terms of solving basic social welfare and community needs of the residents of our voivodship. This places specific responsibilities on the Civil Service, on the management of enterprises and institutions and on the socio-political aktiv, such as the concentration of attention on effectively providing for the basic needs of citizens, the proper handling of these matters, enforcement of public law and order, as well as the reanimation of the economy of the voivodship. This requires constant improvement of the functioning of the voivodship Civil Service, as well as that of its local units and thereby setting high standards for its employees.

In the light of the report presented by the governor of Zielona Gora and the discussion content, the plenum regards the following as the most crucial problems in the socioeconomic development of the voivodship:

In the area of providing for the social welfare needs of the residents of the voivodship of Zielona Gora:

--The undertaking by the Civil Service of effective activity which would support the political work of party organizations for the benefit of activating existing reserves in the sphere of agriculture and its production for the improvement of the food market. In particular, this pertains to milk, dairy products, baked goods, fruits and vegetables as well as potatoes. These activities ought to be accelerated through proper land cultivation and management of farm buildings regardless of the forms of their ownership. The plenum recommends that party organizations in rural areas and in agricultural institutions reexamine the possibilities of agricultural production growth and of improving production operations in rural areas.

--The merging of the key industry, of cooperatives and small production in the utilization of local raw material-material reserves; improvement of the market by means of sought after, nonfood products and articles.

--Increasing the efficiency of trade operations in terms of obtaining goods and counteracting occurrences of speculation and improvement of client services.

--The prompt undertaking, by created plant teams and voivodship organs for production costs and prices, of the inspection and control of the level of fixed prices and the quality of products and services for the purpose of protecting citizens from unjustified increases in the cost of living.



--In taking note of the proposed size of housing construction presented by the governor, the KW plenum turns to party organizations of construction and housing cooperative enterprises for consideration of the possibility of building a greater number of apartments but, at the same time, taking into account local funds.

--The effective solving by the management and social committees of living conditions of the work force and the implementation of proposals resulting from the inspection of safety and health conditions at work; the development of initiatives for collective nourishment of work crews and their families; making it possible to obtain food supplies; organizing rest for the work force and their families and offering assistance to retirees and pensioners. Party organizations should take up action in the direction of the proper use of the social and housing fund for the purpose of coming to the aid of the employees.

In the field of economic functioning of the voivodship:

--The KW plenum obliges the governor to introduce, during the first quarter of this year [1982], the reorganization of subordinate units in accordance with the assumptions of economic reform.

--The effective solution of employment problems; guaranteeing of financial and credit priorities for construction development from the population's own funds, for agricultural needs, for housing construction, health services and environmental protection facilities.

--Consistent implementation of proposals resulting from the inspection of administrative buildings that has been done so far. In the case of the elimination of an association [union], to conduct a subsequent review of the space vacated from the point of view of using it for social welfare needs.

For the purpose of describing the further development of services and to strengthen the business potential, the plenum recommends that a joint session of the Executive Board of the PZPR KW and of the Presidium of the WK SD [Voivodship Committee of the Democratic Party] be held.

The present socioeconomic and political situation presents to the party the task of exerting particular concern for the development of the young generation. In order to work out the directions of party activity and of the Civil Service in this area, the KW will still try to hold its plenary session during the first quarter of this year.

The KW plenum obliges the governor and his office to examine all the proposals presented in today's session and to incorporate them, in accordance with existing possibilities and needs, in the implementation of the socioeconomic program of the voivodship for the current calendar year.

The plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee turns to party organizations, to party members and all the residents of the voivodship for the practical support of the activities undertaken by the Civil Service and the economic administration, which serve the improvement of the living conditions of the residents of our voivodship.

Plenum of KW PZPR in Zielona Gora

Zielona Gora, February 1982

9853

CSO: 2600/447

POZNAN VOIVODSHIP PLENUM ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Poznan Plenum Coverage

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26-28 Mar 82 pp 1, 3

[Report on PZPR Voivodship Committee (KW) Plenum prepared by Mirosław Idziorek, Zbigniew Koscielak and Janusz Truszczyński: "The Party Authenticates the Ideals of Socialism"]

[Text] Tasks in the field of consolidating the party in the Poznan voivodship after the PZPR Central Committee's Seventh Plenum from the standpoint of organization and political ideology, and building social authority and credibility--those were the leading subjects in the deliberations of the plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Poznan. The materials which served as the basis for discussion and consideration were prepared through broad consultation with the voivodship's party aktiv.

The deliberations, in which the director of the Department of Science and Education in the Central Committee, Eugeniusz Duraczynski, and the National Defense Committee (KOK) plenipotentiary for the Poznan voivodship, Brig Gen (pilot) Michał Polech, participated, were opened by the PZPR KW first secretary in Poznan, Edward Skrzypczak, who came to the hall from the hospital where he is convalescing after an accident.

Referring to the subject of the deliberations, Edward Skrzypczak said that it was determined by the content of the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum resolution and the draft ideological-program declaration of the party. During the discussion on the purport of the declaration, E. Skrzypczak said, we want to tell the working people what we are fighting for as a party, and where we are heading. We are concerned, first of all, about a Poland that is socialist and fair to everyone. The important task now facing the party is also the inclusion of all its active forces in the implementation of economic reform which will provide the conditions for overcoming the crisis. To be equal to the difficult tasks which face the party will require unity and the personal commitment of its members in surmounting the difficulties. In speaking about the need for unity, the KW first secretary noted that in the Poznan community also, some negative phenomena stood in the path, and here and there documents appeared which the authors did not have the nerve to sign.

Edward Skrzypczak sincerely thanked those who during his recovery wished him return to health. He gave separate thanks also to the health service employees for their care, assistance and kindness.

The chairmanship of the deliberations was then taken over by Jan Mielcarek, PZPR KW secretary, who also delivered the introduction to the discussion.

The speaker reminded that the period from 1980 to 13 December of last year was characterized by attacks on the party and our allies, lack of political consideration and common sense, and the unbalancing of the economy. The party emerged from this period weakened but not crushed. Today we are able to immediately proceed to put into practice the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum. In this context, the speaker referred to the discussion now taking place on the draft declaration, "What we are Fighting For, Where we are Heading". This discussion is very necessary for the party and we can expect it to bring many suggestions and comments which will enhance the present content of the declaration.

In describing his attitude as to the future of the trade unions, the party, J. Mielcarek said, takes the position that working people should have an autonomous and independent union movement which recognizes the principles of the Polish People's Republic's political system and the leading role of the PZPR. The results of the discussion on the trade unions will depend to a large degree on the attitude, commitment and preparation on the part of party members to participate in this social debate. The most important tasks in whose implementation party organizations and their members must actively take part include support for the Civic Committee for National Rebirth [OKON] and the development of a partnership cooperation with the youth, based on concrete activities and not on words.

The subjects contained in the introduction to the discussion and in the KW Executive Board report delivered to the Plenum participants earlier, were then developed in a discussion.

Twenty-one comrades took part in the discussion. The starting point of their remarks was the substance of the deliberations and the resolution of the PZPR Central Committee's Seventh Plenum, and the subject under consideration was the political situation of the voivodship party organization, the attitudes of party members in this difficult period, and the hierarchy of tasks and duties facing them.

The thesis of the consolidation of the Polish United Workers' Party kept repeating itself in these opinions. There was no talk at the Seventh Plenum about breaking up the party rank-and-file, however the road to continue the advance was clearly defined, as comrade Tadeusz Pisarski, among others, stated, and the road may be narrow, it may be bumpy and winding, but it is a two-way road. Dangers continue to threaten, albeit to a lesser degree. They are talked about at meetings. There are too many people who are waiting, tired, while what is needed at this moment, as never before, is energetic activity, an alliance of courage with judgment. We must firmly fight against the artificial divisions into town and village, "we" and "they", against the phenomenon of emphasizing the requirements that apply only to others, and not to ourselves.

After December 1981, attitudes and emotions of different shades arose in some of the party members. From frustration to victory fanfare. Both are equally damaging. We know, after all, that the struggle continues. On the political, ideological and economic plane. The more so since all types of personnel contests are superfluous, because personnel changes alone cannot pull us out of the crisis, and the sowing of unnecessary unrest is also damaging.

But in talking about unity, said comrade Andrzej Kubacki, let us not forget about sincere and open discussion. Only this can and must save us in the future from mistakes and slips. Every talk must, of course, be carried on with full respect for statutory principles. After discussion, it is necessary to maintain discipline in implementing the resolutions that were passed.

Thus, an identical theme kept repeating itself during the plenary discussion: We cannot fall into a state of appeasement, and martial law is not a protective umbrella for party activities (comrade Stanislaw Kosmowski spoke of this). We must counteract the phenomenon of silent party meetings. Responsibility for this lies with the party aktiv. In presenting subjects which derive from the deepest interests, it should try to evoke a discussion: courageous, to the point, and concrete. Without encouragement and cheering from above.

--An evaluation of the Party, is, above all, an evaluation of every one of us. It would be useful if it were done, said comrade Wlodzimierz Kokocinski, before others pass judgment on us. To do this, we need to know as much as possible about the echelons, the members of the party organizations, their attitudes, the intellectual requirements in relation to the community. In this context, a proposal was made that a document, a type of report on the state of the voivodship party organization, be prepared. The old-town neighborhood party organization in Poznan already has such a report. It is, in the opinion of the speaker, a mine of information on this organization which may turn out to be very helpful in formulating current and future proposals.

Comrade Zbigniew Pacholski mentioned this individual evaluation in different words, but touching upon the essence of this same problem.--The last many months also made us think about our own activities and participation in events. These activities were just as stormy as the times and this is most natural in relation to a party member. We should not come down from this revolutionary "high", for renewal, as it is broadly understood, is social property. The only mistake would be if we were to go to extremes--from the sublime to the ridiculous. In cases of ideological devastation, the best prescription--no one yet has thought of a better one--is war with passivity, fault-finding, i.e., asocial attitudes. This war is conducted not from behind a desk, behind echelon doors, but on the first line, among the people. In this context, the duty also falls on the mass media, in the sense that news must be transmitted rapidly, straightforwardly, and widely.

Criticism also appeared in the discussion as regards cases of incompetent action on the part of the administration. A large number of sound, necessary and socially comprehensible laws and orders have been issued recently. The matter of enforcing them, however, leaves much to be desired. And who is to do this? --asked comrade Stanislaw Kalkus. Certainly not the party, but the people who are responsible for this by virtue of the duties they perform. But it is true also that the blame for the incompetence of the authorities is directed at the party. There is an apparent misconception here on the part of those who do not approve of the party's activities. --The discussion that is taking place now in the party as a whole is really a responsible conversation about Poland's road to socialism, comrade Wlodzimierz Danecki said, with all of the political and economic realities of the present period taken into account.

--In most Polish families, women, mothers, have a determining influence on the upbringing of the children, on the family atmosphere in the home, Krystyna Beres-niewicz, chairman of the Voivodship Board of League of Polish Women (LKP), stated. --Also in typical "women's" workplaces and feminized occupations the ideological influence often predetermines the attitudes of the women in the workplace and in the home. We must create conditions for partnership cooperation of the plant LKP circles with party organizations and act in such a way that the joint labor of overcoming the shortages caused by the crisis will bring positive, perceptible results, as quickly as possible.

A good deal of time in the plenary discussion was devoted to matters of the young generation, rightly emphasizing the already frequently confirmed fact that without the young people, without the partnership cooperation of the youth organizations, there can be no thought either about a regeneration of party strength or effectively bringing the country out of the economic crisis (after all, 50 percent of the production workers are young people). Assisting the youth in their striving for intellectual and vocational development, for promotions, and above all, satisfying the social and welfare needs of young families, must be a planned, honestly implemented party task. The young people were mentioned also in characterizing the party organizations in the villages. The membership is inevitably aging, said comrade Karol Pacuszk, and what is disturbing, there are no suitable activities which would prepare recruitment of new members from among the youth belonging to youth organizations. And the strength of the party always is and should be youth.

The PZPR Central Committee Department of Education and Science director, E. Duraczynski, also took the floor in the discussion, stating that when, during the deliberations, the party, the unity of its rank-and-file membership, and the more important tasks of the organization are mentioned, the thoughts are not only about what to do, but also about how to attain the intended goals.

The PZPR Central Committee's Seventh Plenum ended a certain phase of the discussion about our party, confirmed the basic values and achievements of the Ninth Congress, documented the will to continue the work of improving the Republic, and defined the ideological and organizational criteria of party unity. The bridge between the basic assumptions of the Ninth Congress program and the current questions pertaining to our modernity, came to be the draft declaration of ideology, "What we are Fighting For, Where we are Heading". Our party, the speaker said, is regaining the ability to interpret what exists now, what is happening, and what can happen. The main line of battle now is the winning of the workers and peasants, and the battle for the youth.

Referring to the sentence from Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech, also cited in the discussion, that "the PZPR must be the same but not the same", comrade E. Duraczynski particularly emphasized the meaning of the adjective "united", and the undertaking by the party of work at the foundation--organic work. A full reply to this, how to understand this characteristic of the rebirth of the party, will be made in the discussion on the draft ideology-program declaration of the PZPR.

The members of the plenum were then familiarized with the proposal of the resolution, presented by the KW secretary, Maciej Olejniczak, which constituted the achievement of the deliberations. Its programmatic text was accepted unanimously (we are publishing the resolution separately).

At the proposal of the KW Executive Board, the plenum appointed a Women's Commission, in which the female comrades who are members and candidate members of the Voivodship Committee, and party activists of women's organizations, will be active. The full composition of this new KW problem commission will be presented at the next plenary meeting.

A team was also appointed to gather and prepare suggestions and proposals from the partywide discussion on the draft declaration "What we are Fighting For, Where we are Heading".

The KW secretary, Jan Mielcarek, summarized the plenary deliberations, stressing once more all of its most important points.--We must declare unconditional war against all evil, wherever it originates, war against all human injustice. This is one of the conditions for recovering credibility for our party, said comrade Mielcarek, a party which came through the difficult period of a great test undefeated.

The plenum adjourned with the singing of the "Internationale".

#### Executive Board Theses

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26-28 Mar 82 p 3

[Article: "The Party's Values and Aspirations"; Theses of the PZPR Voivodship Committee (KW) Executive Board Report at the KW Plenum in Poznan]

[Text] Past experience has dramatically confirmed the truth, that violation of the party's ties with the working class, with the working masses and with all of society, strikes at the foundations of the leading role of the PZPR. These ties must stand for a consistent party struggle to win for its program the broadest masses of society, above all, the working class and the peasantry, and to jointly provide conditions in which not only every party member, but every citizen, will feel that he is the creator of this program, seeing his place in its implementation.

Political work must be the duty of every PZPR member, not only within the framework of a party organization, but also among nonparty members. It is indispensable to form groups from the workers' aktiv to conduct direct political work, daily, at work posts, production units, in party groups and shop organizations. The PZPR organization should operate openly, cooperating with other political and social organizations, and with all those who accept socialist ideals and the political system's principles.

Party organizations, all PZPR members, should regularly use the materials from the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. They contain the considerations and the discussion of the whole party on the directions and form of socialist renewal, on the program for overcoming the crisis, and the conditions that the party must fulfill in order to regain credibility, respect and authority in society. This must be accompanied by the conviction that the object is not to create new programs but to become thoroughly familiar with the substance of the program accepted at the Congress, and to implement it with absolute consistency.



The material for consideration is the draft ideological-program declaration, "What we are Fighting For, Where we are Heading", which was presented at the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum for general discussion. Its final ideological form and programmatic substance depends on the entire party. We must answer the question as to how to integrate party goals and tasks with the interests of the working class and all people of labor.

Only by presenting matters squarely and clearly, by showing the problems frankly, can we rebuild the party's leading role in society and restore its role as the vanguard of the working class and win people over to its goals. We are concerned particularly with restoring the party's influence over the young people, but not by the "good uncle" method, who promises a great deal and then his role is finished, but by being a partner to the young generation, stern in judgments, friendly in counsel, and helpful in satisfying vital needs and ambitions.

The so-called "accountability process" must be brought to completion consistently. It is proceeding in accordance with the letter of the law. At the same time, it is also important for the party now to free itself of the people who joined its ranks with the idea of making a career for themselves, to satisfy their often exaggerated ambitions, an easy and convenient life, or simply for ill-gotten gains. We must also free ourselves of those whose ties with the party are not based on Marxist-Leninist ideology, and who by their activity do damage to the party, and weaken its ability to fight for socialist ideals. In some communities, the process of restoring party discipline, correct organization of party life and overcoming passiveness, negation and fault-finding, is still too slow.

In order for the party to be strong and function effectively, it must be unified ideologically, political and organizationally. That is the basic direction of activity of all party elements. We must find out to what degree the phenomenon of opportunism occurred, i.e., the understanding and agreements with the counter-revolutionary and extremal forces of "Solidarity", the smearing and paralyzing of the party's mobility and militancy in the struggle with the forces that are enemies of the party and socialism, and what kind of harm was done by the departure from the statutory principles and the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and also the falling away of the party from the needs, aims and aspirations of the party masses and the working class.

The need to consolidate democratic centralism, emphasized at the PZPR Central Committee's Seventh Plenum, is not aimed at weakening sincere party discussion. It is only to assist in the process of surmounting internal party divisions, purging it of social-democratic, Christian Democratic Party, and other influences which weaken the party.

Cadre policy is an important instrument in the party's leadership role--the development of a system of criteria for selecting management cadres and a broad cadre base, which would make it possible to include the participation of the PZPR members and members of the other political parties and nonparty people, in directing and managing the national economy. The main cadre criteria are high qualifications, ability and professional experience, moral attitude, and a political stance that is in agreement with the principles of the political system.

One of the extremely important currents in propaganda-explanatory activity, including the means of public communication--press, radio and television--is complete, straightforward information on the state of our economy, on the actual work results. We will have to make many, sometimes painful, sacrifices, for a number of months and maybe even years. Society must know the truth about this, and we must all know the premises for coming out of the crisis; and we must particularly be aware that parochial interests, an uncontrolled, economically unjustified increase in prices and thriftless management, above all, hurts us and lowers society's standard of living.

With reference to the vital traditions, in the Poznan voivodship society, of civic responsibility, self-government, good organization and respect for human labor, the idea of national accord is being implemented. At present, this idea is being implemented by the Committees of National Rebirth (KON). The first Civic Committee for National Salvation (OKON) in Poland was formed in Poznan, in Jezyce. Today there are 50 OKON's in the Poznan voivodship, and in addition, almost 40 initiative groups are functioning, which will transform themselves into Committees of National Rebirth.

One of the important tasks of the party echelons and the entire party in the towns and gminas should be the increasing and strengthening of the authority of the people's councils and the local organs of state administration. The party organizations, together with the teams of councillors, should take part in the discussion on the draft law on people's councils. The reactivation of neighborhood people's councils and neighborhood administration organs in Poznan is a separate problem.

The fundamental plane of interparty cooperation are the permanent joint-action commissions of the PZPR, ZSL and SD, both on the voivodship level as well as in the towns and gminas. Operating in the presently complex conditions, they undertake the matters of reconstructing the country's economy, acting to ensure social order and restoration of authority to the government. In so doing, they are a guarantee of the socialist process of renewal and the development of socialist democracy.

An extremely important task for the party is that of stimulating the workforces in applying economic reform. The party organizations must utilize the results and experience of the teams for matters of reform, for matters of prices, and social and economic commissions, in the area of catching mistakes in the systems solutions that are being applied, which could endanger the social goals that economic reform is envisaging.

The most important matter of the party echelons and organization in the village is that of removing, as quickly as possible, all causes and sources of dissatisfaction, irritation and dispute, which, as a result of unfeelingness, bureaucracy, negligence or inertia, are aggravating the atmosphere of social life in the village and are discouraging the farmers and the agricultural employees, and weakening their motivation for honest and productive work.

We must create a true partnership relationship between the party and the youth. Openness, truth, rational premises of dialogue--these are the basic arguments in work with youth. The slogan "nothing about youth without youth" must be the direction of the party's activities in the interests of the young generation.



## Plenum Resolution

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26-28 Mar 82 p 3

[Text] PZPR Voivodship Committee Resolution

We are facing important and difficult political, social and economic tasks. We have before us the great task of uniting all patriotic social forces for the implementation of our program for extricating ourselves from the crisis, a program laid down at the party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress. Further work awaits us in the deep ideological-moral rebirth, in the purging of our party ballast of people who are not observing the Ninth Congress' resolutions and the party's statute. Our opponents are exploiting the complex and complicated situation in our country. That is why our voivodship organization, just as the party in the entire country, must take a broad ideological offensive, must begin a great battle, on which the highest values are staked: socialism and fatherland.

1. The basic duty of all party echelons and organizations, as well as individual party members, is to preserve unity of activity in the implementation of the resolutions and decisions of the Ninth Congress and PZPR Central Committee plenary sessions. Organizational cohesion and unity of party activity, and consistent observance of Marxist-Leninist principles, has been and will remain the key to solving the entire crisis situation in our country. Therefore, violation of the principle of unity is activity which strikes directly at the party, and thus at socialism in Poland. To preserve unity of activity, a clear and unequivocal determination of the position of every party member towards the PZPR Congress and Central Committee plenary resolutions must be made. An expression of attitude on the decisions to impose martial law is also required. All party echelons and organizations will conduct explanatory talks with members who are not observing the statute and avoiding the implementation of the party's resolutions, and will take the necessary organizational action in regards to these members.

2. In order to efficiently and effectively implement the decisions of the Ninth Congress and the Central Committee plenary resolutions, they must be translated into practical terms and tasks for all party echelons and organizations and for every individual party member. This means universal, maximum party activation and aggressiveness. There is no place in the party for attitudes of the "nothing depends on me anyway" type, because this is a return to deception and passiveness, and passiveness in a party member today means ideological sabotage. The primary party organizations have a decisive role here, for they determine the militancy and the quality of the party's activity.

3. Let us do everything to become a party of social understanding and conciliation. The areas of activity in behalf of understanding are primarily the Civic Committees of National Rebirth (OKON). It is in them, in direct contact with people and their everyday problems, in the just, honest and patient solving of these problems, that sooner or later the idea of social understanding will be fulfilled. It is the duty of party members to assist in the formation of Civic Committees [i.e., OKON's] and to work dedicatedly in them. At the workplaces, social understanding will be implemented in the shop and in production and social activity.

4. No party organization and no party member may remain indifferent to how economic reform is being applied in his workplace. Whether economic efficiency indicators are improving and by how much, what the ratios of wages to labor input are, whether the principle of the conservation of raw materials, other materials, and fuels, are being implemented and how, whether conditions have been provided for the development of new technical ideas, rationalization, and organizational progress.

5. There can be no absence of party members where people are being ill-treated, where the effects of shortages are most keenly felt. Let us do everything so that help will be given to those earning the least, the families with many children, the ill and the infirm, to create better conditions for the young people to establish themselves, for the young married couples. May intelligent and sensible work, sensitivity to the problems of others, justice, integrity, uncompromising opposition to duplicity and enrichment at the expense of others, be the next bridge on the road to national conciliation.

6. The party is being reborn. We want to regain full credibility. We want to permanently strengthen the ties with the working class, with all working people. We want to conquer the towering problems of our country. Our credentials will be the ideological-program declaration "What we are Fighting For, Where we are Heading". May our entire voivodship party organization develop a discussion on this document. May this discussion become a large party exchange of thoughts, reflections on the historical importance of the road which we must now map out for many future generations.

7. The question of youth, their upbringing in the spirit of socialism, creative participation in the life of the country, guaranteeing to them conditions for an adequate life, is an extremely difficult problem on which the party's attention should constantly be concentrated. We are decidedly in favor of increasing youth's participation in socio-political life, the broad inclusion of youth in cadre policy, and full safe-guarding of the rights of youth while at the same time holding them jointly responsible for the fate of the country.

8. We are the continuators of a century-old tradition of workers' struggles for work liberation, for national freedom. All party echelons in our voivodship organization have already prepared their own programs of observance of the 100th anniversary of the workers' movement in the Poznan voivodship. Let us see to it that the beautiful, although complex and not free from error, traditions of the struggle for justice, dignity and freedom, become an enduring component of our national consciousness.

9. In a few weeks we will observe the 1 May workers' class holiday. May this be a day of great manifestation, the unshakable will for understanding, militancy and strength of the working class, the ability of its party to lead, and also the striving for the rebirth of the party and the entire nation.

PZPR KW in Poznan

9295

CSO: 2600/530

## NEW TYPES OF MILITARY TRAINING EQUIPMENT DESCRIBED

Warsaw WOJSKOWY PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 12, Dec 81 pp 568-571

[Article by Lt Col Tadeusz Szafarz]

[Text] Modern combat equipment is characterized by high degrees of complexity, operational speed and accuracy, and functional efficiency. However, it is also very costly. It is costly both to manufacture and to operate. In order to be able to handle this equipment skillfully it is necessary to undergo long periods of training and develop good work habits and quick reaction times that are responsive to a given combat situation. Both for these reasons and also, in some cases, for reasons of trainee safety it becomes necessary to produce and promote the large-scale use of various kinds of training equipment.

The term training equipment is very broad. It might just as well apply to a common firing-range target hoist or to complex mechanical trainers and simulators. The degree of complexity displayed by training equipment often matches that of real combat equipment. Specially designed training apparatuses have been used successfully in our armed forces for many years now. This equipment includes both simple training aids as well as more complex aids, e.g., air-situation simulators.

In September 1981 a wide range of domestically manufactured or newly developed training equipment was put on display at the Polish exhibit at the Interallied Exhibition of Military Training Equipment and Aids. This display showed off the record of achievement that has been racked up in this field in Poland over the past few years in terms of research and development and the promotion of inventions and innovations.

The combat training disciplines that were represented included artillery and tactical training, chemical and reconnaissance training, and training programs for national air defense and air force personnel. However, there were no displays of naval training equipment or of tank and motor vehicle trainer units. There was a relatively large number of exhibits of battlefield simulation systems and marksmanship training aids whose operation was demonstrated under training-ground conditions.

There were two exhibits that attracted a great deal of interest. Namely, the SN-79 air-control simulator system and the subsystem (PIS-NO) used for the

individualized training of radar navigator-ground controllers, both of which were developed by the Air Force Technology Engineering Institute. These systems are electronic devices of state-of-the-art design which incorporate a wide range of computer technology applications. They are yielding major training and economic dividends, and, accordingly, they should be given wider publicity.

#### The SN-79 Simulator

The SN-79 air-control simulator system is designed for the individualized and group training of ground air-control personnel and control and reporting system crews. By interacting with radar systems it makes it possible to simulate the flight paths of fighter aircraft that are being vectored to targets per orders given by the navigator trainee and generate a visual display of real-time flight parameters of the vectored aircraft, the overall air situation and data on the altitude of air targets.

Ground-control personnel can be trained in the acquisition and vectoring of fighter aircraft that are to be guided to targets flying at low, medium, high, and stratospheric altitudes. At the same time, multiple fighters can be vectored to multiple air targets with variable course headings, speeds and altitudes. The acquisition and vectoring process can take place in various kinds of radioelectronic jamming environments of varying intensities. The training of crews manning the control and reporting system encompasses skills associated with the acquisition of air targets against a background of noise generated by their own receiving equipment and the plotting of their coordinates, the identification of air target characteristics (formation composition, nationality, maneuver patterns and so on), the classification of targets in a complex air situation, identification of the mode and intensity of radio-electronic jamming and the operation of electronic countermeasures systems and also systems used for the control of reception-path amplification.

The standard configuration of the SN-79 system consists of the following modules: a central processing unit and flight parameter display unit (Photo 1), an ISR-03 radar-signal simulator, and a ZEW radio-signal simulator. The modular design of both the hardware and the software makes it possible to set up simpler equipment layouts designed for the individualized training of command post personnel. Only two persons (operators) are needed to operate the standard version of the SN-79 system.

Before the actual training session gets underway a control tape is fed into the simulator on which the prescribed training scenario is recorded. A floppy disk is inserted into the unit after these data have been processed. The training session begins with the recall and display of the preprogrammed air-attack scenario on the radarscopes. After analyzing the simulated air situation, the operator-navigator makes decisions on the armaments and so on of the fighter aircraft slated for commitment. He will then proceed to make other decisions concerning the takeoff (or departure from airborne standby stations) of the fighters and the command and control of the vectored aircraft.

The commands relayed by the navigator-operator to the pilot-operators are identical to those given during a real controlled-intercept operation. The

pilot operators enter the commands they have received into the SN-79 simulator while at the same time observing the parameters of the simulated flight paths of the vectored aircraft that are illuminated on the monitor screens (Photo 2). The navigation-control operators file reports as required.

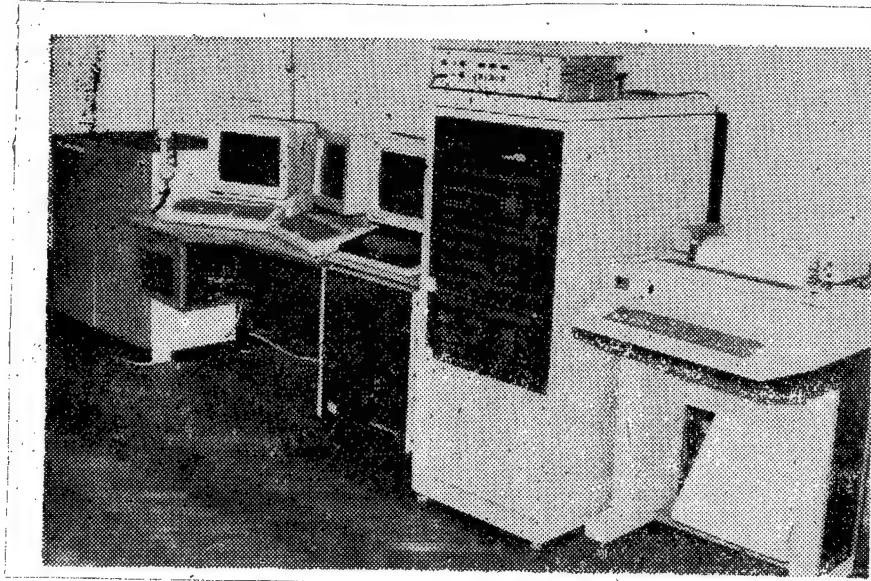


Photo 1.

Some of the components of the SN-79 air control simulator system (central processor module and flight parameters display module) from left: 7905 control unit, MERA 7910 monitor screens, MDE-400 floppy disk, MERA-400 minicomputer, MKSR-400 dot-character printer with keyboard.

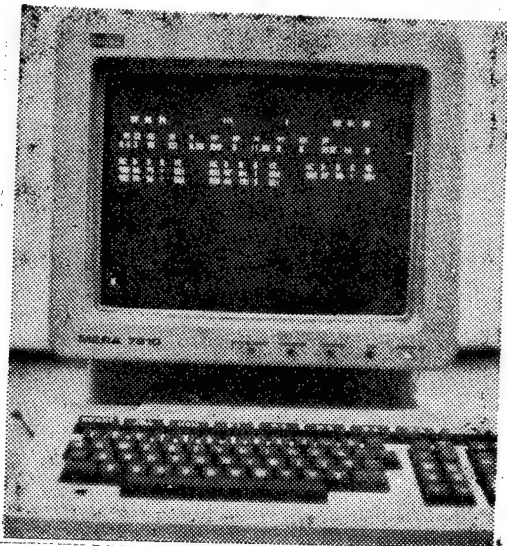


Photo 2.

A MERA 7910 monitor screen for the display of flight parameters; the data that can be called up on the screen include parameters such as the pilot index, type of aircraft, flight time, engine power rating, types of maneuvers, course heading, pitch, yaw, "fighter-target" coordinates, Mach speed, ground speed, rate of climb, fuel status.

Data on target positions are complemented by data on the current positions of the fighter aircraft being guided to these targets, and the overall air situation is displayed on the radarscopes. The training session can be terminated at any time regardless of the air situation that is being simulated.

Here are some of the more important tactical-technical data on the SN-79: maximum number of aircraft whose flight parameters can be tracked simultaneously--4, duration of simulated air situation--8 hours, maximum number of simulated air objects--200, maximum number of simultaneously simulated air objects--60. The ZEW radio communications simulator system makes it possible to open radio communications in one of eight channels operating in a simplex, duosimplex or duplex mode.

The SN-79 simulator is highly reliable owing to the use of medium-scale integrated circuits and thanks to the sound structural design of mechanical components. The system's very favorable operating characteristics are attributable to the fact that all of the working modules, appropriate testing devices, and the expanded system used to monitor the operation of the simulator's working software package are more readily accessible. The modular design of the hardware and software makes it possible to expand the simulator, a feature which in turn facilitates its modification for the purpose of meeting other training needs resulting from the introduction of new weapon systems into the armed forces.

#### The PIS-NO Subsystem

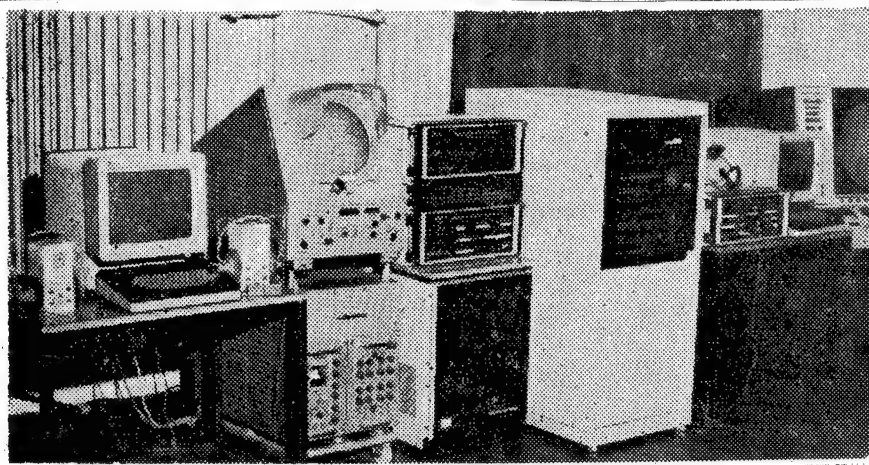
The subsystem used for the individualized training of navigators (PIS-NO) is a component of the IKS-80 flight-control simulator. This simulator is a unit consisting of electronic systems and computer programs that simulate the systems, equipment, and working processes and procedures of real radar systems used to vector aircraft intercepting air targets, air-control systems in an airfield air-traffic-control zone and aircraft controlled-approach systems. The PIS-NO subsystem (Photo 3) is designed for the training air-traffic controllers. It can be used to provide training in the following subject areas: the correct interpretation of radar display data and audiovisual control of aircraft, navigational assistance for aircraft flying within an airfield's air-traffic control zone, the simulation of air-traffic crisis situations, and rating the skill levels of radar navigator-operators.

The PIS-NO subsystem consists of four basic components: central processing, data processing and control systems, a training instructor station, a radar navigator-operator trainee station, and an assistant instructor station. The hardware of the subsystem is built around SS and MS integrated circuits manufactured in Poland and other CEMA countries.

A unique radar display method has been incorporated into the PIS-NO subsystem based on the synthesis of a digital radar signal. This permits the flexible variation of the configuration and rate of displayed data without any of the restrictions associated with quantitative performance characteristics.

In contrast to designs used for similar training apparatuses the principal functions of the "pseudopilot" in the PIS-NO subsystem have been taken over by a computer program that performs pilot functions (a pilot model), while simple





The PIS-NO subsystem; shown from the left are: the assistant instructor's station, the radar navigator-operator trainee station, the simulation and data processing system, the training instructor's station.

manual functions (entering commands into the computer) are performed by an assistant instructor. The computerized pilot model transforms the prescribed air-control commands into aircraft flight parameters while making allowances for its current flight status and conditions.

Here, then, are some of the more important tactical-technical data on the PIS-NO subsystem:

- the radarscopes can simulate and display 30 moving air objects while giving a complete readout on flight-engineering performance characteristics;
- 20 moving air objects while giving a partial readout on flight-engineering performance characteristics;
- 5 auxiliary, nonmoving cursors with assigned position coordinates;
- reflections of local terrain features;
- active radar signals;
- internal reception path noise;
- wideband active jamming signals.

The radar signal-generating system makes it possible to simulate 16 objects at a time, which in turn permits the generation of several hundred air objects within the radar sets coverage area. The range of simulated aircraft performance characteristics corresponds to four classes of modern military aircraft, i.e., training aircraft, subsonic fighters, supersonic fighters, and transport aircraft.

The simulation and display of signals on the scope screens can be initiated by the instructor at any time during the exercise in keeping with a scenario



prepared in advance or extemporaneously. The displayed situation can be stored for any length of time or erased partially or completely.

One PIS-NO subsystem can accommodate from one to three navigator-trainee duty stations. The subsystem's warmup time, measured from the moment the power is switched on, is no more than 5 minutes. The subsystem can be serviced by one electronic engineer or electronic technician who has received training in the operation of computers or radarscopes.

Some of the advances of the PIS-NO subsystem that should be mentioned are the substantial reductions in fuel consumption and the reduced wear and tear on aircraft and radar equipment used during the training process, the increase in the capacity of training centers, the feasibility of simulating complex air situations which cannot be created full-scale during peacetime and so on.

#### Simulated Battlefield Devices Control System

The operation of a radio remote-controlled battlefield-simulation system (Photo 4 [not reproduced]) was demonstrated during this exhibition. This system can be used on tactical exercise fields and at proving grounds. It permits the independent control of 60 groups of simulated fire devices; each of these groups may consist of any number of clusters of battlefield-simulation devices that are to be activated simultaneously. Commands are sent to these clusters by pressing appropriate buttons on the control console. Individual clusters can be controlled separately.

This system consists of a control console, radio reception boosters, encoding tape cartridges, and reception booster shipping crates. The reception boosters interact directly with the following devices: a hoist for light and heavy combat figures (6 MIS and 11 MIS) and a 45 MIS booster. These devices make it possible to control simulations of machinegun fire (electrical and pneumatic), artillery fire, ATGM fire, and the simulated launchings of tactical missiles. The system's control range in open terrain is 3 km. The system functions properly in temperatures ranging from -20 degrees C to +80 degrees C and the power output does not exceed 1 watt. A digital coding system is used together with a coded channel selector system. The transmitter power rating is more than 0.5 W, and the receiver unit sensitivity is less than 2  $\mu$ V.

#### The 57-mm Dummy-Projectile Round

The exhibition also featured the demonstration firing of a live round with a dummy projectile from a 57-mm antiaircraft gun that was specially developed in order to permit the training of 57-mm AA gun crews on exercise fields adjacent to barracks areas. These rounds can also be used during exercises involving joint operations of different armed forces branches, exhibition firings, the testing of gun working parts and so on.

The gun does need to undergo special preparations in order to fire 57-mm dummy-projectile rounds. All that is required is to remove the muzzle brake from the gun barrel, since the gun could be damaged if it is fired with the muzzle brake in place. The functions performed while the gun is being loaded, fired and reloaded are also identical to those performed when firing rounds with live warheads.

The recoil action of moving parts when firing 57-mm dummy-projectile rounds is approximately identical to recoil action when firing live rounds. After leaving the barrel, the dummy projectile breaks up, and the casing fragments and cast-iron filings with which it is filled shoot out to a distance of 100 meters from the barrel muzzle, as a result of which it is possible to fire the gun in relatively confined exercise fields.

The dummy-projectile round is based on a simple design. The shell casing is made by means of the pressurized plastic injection molding process. The cartridge is 522 mm long, the powder charge weighs 1.2 kg, the cartridge weighs 4.6 kg, and the projectile weighs 1.29 kg. [Photos 5 and 6 not reproduced]

#### The IRL-28 Simulator

The IRL-78 (Photo 7) aircraft roentgen meter was certainly one of the most interesting exhibits. It falls into that category of electrical simulators that is hooked up directly to an instrument used to measure terrain radioactive contamination levels. Other simulators have to be operated manually, but the IRL-78 simulator is an automated programmed instrument. The package of simulated readouts is programmed before the start of a training session.

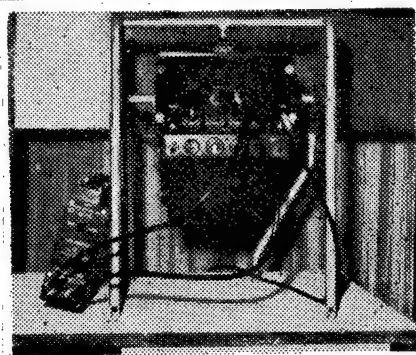


Photo 7. The IRL-78 aviation roentgen meter simulator

Among the other simulators used to date in direct instrument hookup modes the IRL-78 is distinguished by its great versatility and the fidelity with which it reproduces real-life measurement conditions. The programs that have been developed make it possible to run quick and comprehensive tests on equipment and--as part of the personnel training process--develop a set of habits and reflexes that are conducive to the flawless operation of specialized radioactive contamination reconnaissance devices.

This simulator works by using the signals originating in a standard oscillator that are fed into the programming system. This is a state-of-the-art device in terms of its design, as it consists solely of TTL-series integrated

circuits with no tuning components or moving parts. The simulation time is 3.64 minutes. The simulator has 10 programs. It can operate properly in temperatures ranging from -40 degrees C to +50 degrees C. Its dimensions are 75x275x475 mm and it weighs 45 kg.

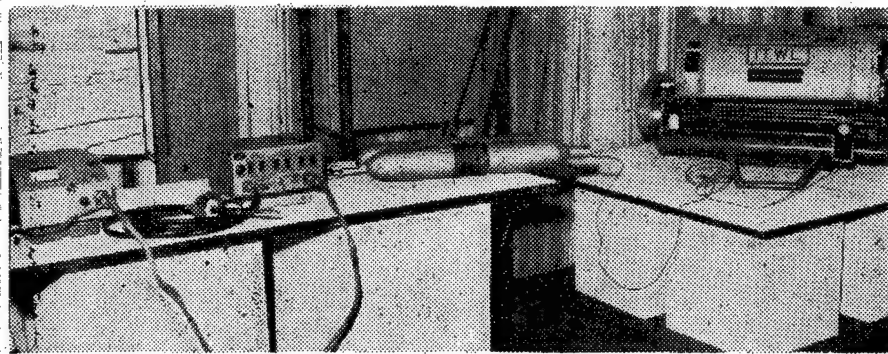


Photo 8.

This towed-target winch together with the hit signaling device is used for the in-flight reeling out and reeling in of a 3-km-long tow line with attached target sock. The signaling device is used to measure the distance by which a projectile misses the center of the target. The scores are recorded automatically onto a tape or are transmitted to the ground by radio. The equipment was designed to be operated by relatively high-speed jet aircraft.

The radar display video tape recorder (Photo 9) is used to convert radar signals displayed on a type-P scope and accompanying audio signals. The signals are recorded on MTU-50 magnetic tape and then played back. This system makes it possible to record air situations displayed on radarscopes as well as the commands and reports given in response to a given air situation.

This system can be installed in radar stations as a permanent fixture. It consists of silicon transistors and domestically manufactured UCA- and UCY-series integrated circuits. Its dimensions are 440x440x180 mm and it weighs about 20 kg. A test series will go into production in 1982.

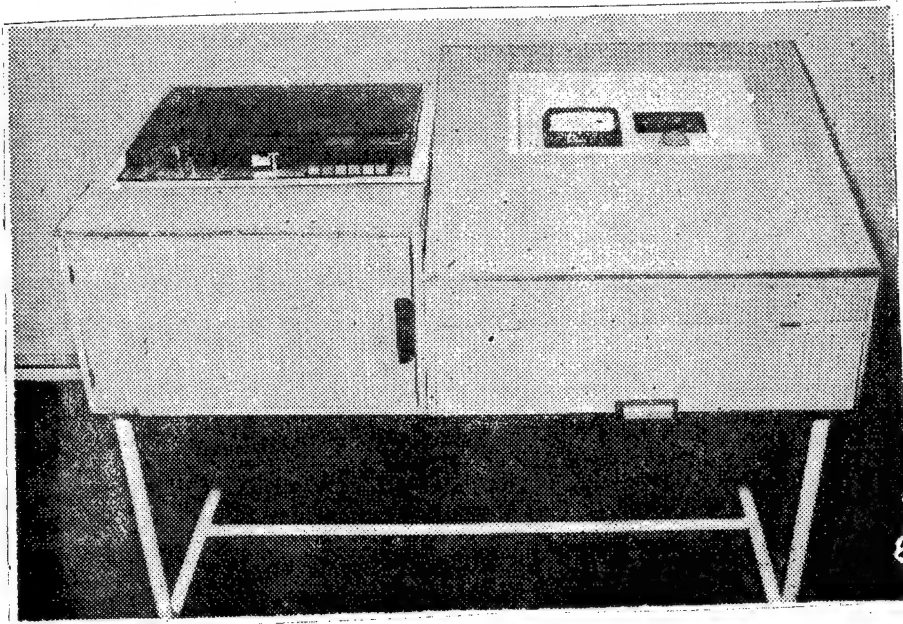


Photo 9.

The MRZR-1 radar display video tape recorder

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# COMBAT ACTIVITY IN URBAN AREA DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH in Polish No 3, Mar 82 pp 22-25

[Article by Col Stefan Wiejak]

[Text] Unlike military activities under field conditions combat activities in urban areas will be characterized by dispersal--small subunits will battle over individual buildings or other strong points.\*

A city may be divided into urban centers of compact and dispersed building development. Compact development occurs in old cities. Here, buildings are generally longstanding, with thick walls of brick or concrete. Streets are narrow and winding, converging at the center of town. Major transportation arteries intersect or radiate from a central point. In cities having compact development, the infantry as a rule advances on foot, since the possibilities of utilizing tanks and combat infantry vehicles are limited. Dispersed development is a characteristic of new cities. Buildings are tall, located parallel to streets or at various angles, with a certain distance separating them. The height of buildings varies: There are 5-, 9-, 11- and 16-story buildings, against the background of which dominate skyscrapers of 35 stories or more. Here there are wide streets and, a greater number of public squares, parks and stadiums than in cities having compact development. Both building construction and the transportation network affect the character of combat activities within the circumference of cities. The system of modern roads has radically changed the appearance of cities. Here, advancing subunits have greater possibilities to utilize tanks and combat infantry vehicles as well as to advance faster.

Highly industrialized areas (city districts) have a distinct character. This includes industrial, mining and port districts. Their characteristic building development includes all types of factory shops, blast furnaces, steel mills,

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\*Editor's note: The author presents his views on the makeup and role of assault groups, as well as on organization of an advance in an urban area. We believe that this article may serve as a basis for discussion about urban area combat. For example, we shall be happy to publish an article on the concrete activities of assault groups or on the organization of battalion level exercises in an assault on a city.

electric power plants, warehouses, storehouses and developed underground construction (factory rooms, storehouses, sewerage systems, shelters and the like). There are many elevators, railroad stations and a compact network of track, bridges, viaducts and roadbeds here. All of this equipment and all of these structures are found in close proximity with various types of old and new buildings. Conducting an advance in such areas will be extremely complicated due to the limited possibilities for using tanks and combat infantry vehicles. Individual structures will be taken by subunit forces and assault groups which, taking advantage of the open space between plants or structures, will attack an opponent on the defensive from the rear, while at the same time blocking his exit from the structures he is defending and neutralizing him with artillery fire.

Walled building development facilitates the enemy's organizing a strong defense within a short time. Emplacements and strong points will be linked by a firing system, and weapons will be located on the various stories of buildings, enabling the enemy to organize multilevel fire. Primary, alternate and supplementary firing positions are selected for all weapons in case of limited visibility (smoke, dust). The system of city building development and the transportation network likewise have a negative effect on the firing and maneuvering of capabilities subunits in defense.

The barrier system in conjunction with the firing system determines the endurance of an urban defense; great importance is attached to the construction of barricades, both inside and outside of buildings. In addition to barricades, wire barriers, portable barriers, mines (both stationary and movable), pit and mobile units may be used. Doors and windows on the ground floor (in cellars) will be secured with netting or grates against grenades thrown at them.

It is expected that an urban opponent will fight with special persistence and doggedness. Taking advantage of opportune conditions, he will make surprise counterattacks inside and outside of buildings, usually using a small number of forces. A counterattack from position is most effectively repulsed since it is a limited maneuver.

An urban battle will be very persistent and will abound in complex and changing situations. It will be conducted at close range. Thus, an advancing subunit is faced with the necessity of capturing powerful emplacements and strong points. The above-mentioned characteristics of urban battle have the effect of reducing the rate of advance, which may reach 200 meters or so per hour.

Generally it may be stated that an advance on a city will be characterized by:

- Limited capabilities of observation and fire delivery;
- limited possibilities for using tanks and combat infantry vehicles;
- the necessity of conducting an advance on foot;
- difficulties occurring in command and coordinated action;
- persistence in battles and changeability of situation;
- a low rate of advance;
- the necessity of creating an atypical combat grouping (assault groups);
- the greater use of small-arms ammunition and hand grenades for achieving the same results as in field conditions

## Subunit Combat Grouping

The organizational structure of infantry subunits and their armaments enables them to conduct an advance on a city without the need to create units and assault groups. The following factors argue for conducting an advance in the typical subunit table-of-organization composition:

- The great fire power of available weapons, the possibility of conducting maneuvers, ease of command;
- the basic method of capturing a city and conducting battle in it is a movement to contact;
- the Typical grouping favors subduing a field-type defense of the enemy organized in the suburbs;
- any changes weaken the teamwork of garrisons, squads and platoons and complicate coordinated action;
- an excessively builtup structure on a horizontal plane (the creation of too large a number of elements of a combat grouping) complicates command;
- any changes mean a loss of time, enabling the defense forces to become better prepared for conducting the defense.

During an advance on the enemy by direct contact, surprise attack must be used to fight the battle on the outskirts of the city or in the suburbs in an unchanged grouping. In anticipation of struggles over strongly defended structures such as old forts, industrial plants, mines, ports, electric power plants and railroad stations, an assault group may be organized using the second echelon or company reserves. Assault units are created using an infantry battalion or a reinforced tank company. If the company is used as a basis of an assault group, the platoon may be an attack subgroup or a covering subgroup. The following is the typical composition of a platoon assault group:

- The attack subgroup composed of an infantry squad plus one or two rocket flamethrowers;
- the fire subgroup composed of one or two tanks, one or two guns, a mortar platoon, three hand antitank howitzers and two combat infantry vehicles;
- the covering subgroup composed of an infantry squad, one tank and one combat infantry vehicle;
- the mine-clearing subgroup--assigned combat engineers and a mine-clearing tank;
- the command subgroup composed of: The platoon commander, together with an observer and liaison personnel for the particular subgroups;
- depending on the need, a smokescreen subgroup may be organized.

The typical composition of a company assault group is the following:

- One or two assault subgroups, each composed of a reinforced infantry platoon;
- a fire subgroup composed of a mortar platoon, one or two tank platoons, part of the combat infantry vehicles;
- the support artillery composed of an artillery battery;
- the covering subgroup composed of an infantry platoon;
- the mine-clearing subgroup composed of an infantry squad, a squad of combat engineers, two to four chemical-warfare specialists and a mine-clearing tank;
- the medical-supplies subgroup;
- the command subgroup.



### Movement to Contact in the Typical Grouping

Before attacking an urban area, the artillery and the air force should conduct preparation fire and set up smokescreens.

During its approach to the target of an assault, the infantry should be redeployed in combat infantry vehicles at a distance of 50 to 70 meters behind the tanks; on the other hand, when they have approached the enemy and are within the range of hand antitank weapons, they should attack on foot. Tanks and combat infantry vehicles reinforcing the infantry assault by firing from place should neutralize the opponent's weapons. When the infantry has reached a distance of 200 to 300 meters from the target of the assault, the task of the artillery will consist of shifting fire to strong points inside the defense, to reserves and to enemy artillery.

During the preparation fire of the advance, combat engineers should make a passageway through the enemy's engineer-constructed barriers.

Platoons (squads) covering each other should break into buildings (or each subunit should break into a different building) and seize the ground floor. Then part of the force should blockade basements and attack the upper stories via the stairs or openings in the ceilings of rooms, destroying the enemy by fire from automatic weapons and grenades. After the building is seized, it should be searched from the basement to the attic to mop up remaining enemy groups.

Tanks and combat infantry vehicles should be redeployed along streets several tens of meters behind the infantry, so that buildings may be mopped up from tank destroyers.

Due to the limited capabilities of tanks and combat infantry vehicles for fire delivery at targets located on the upper stories of tall buildings, the need arises for systematically dividing fire vertically and toward the target. Tanks and combat infantry vehicles which are closer to the enemy should fight against targets located around buildings and in buildings on the lower stories; meanwhile tanks and combat infantry vehicles found in the second line or the second echelon should destroy targets located on the upper stories.

In areas with tall, narrow buildings and strongly fortified barricades, the use of a shallow but resolute enveloping movement will be characteristic. In an assault within a building, a vertical movement may likewise be used. This consists of a simultaneous assault from below, from the basement and the ground floor up, or an assault from above, through the attic and upper floors.

Every structure or building seized should be prepared for defense. At the same time, it will be the assault position for an assault on another structure. A further advance will consist of subsequent assaults made by the infantry on individual structures in coordinated action with tanks and combat engineers, with the use of reinforcement artillery and mortar fire.

As a rule, urban counterattacks are repelled from place from firing positions occupied in the seized structures.

#### The Advance of an Assault Group

The advance of an assault group may take place in the following way: The artillery and the air force neutralize the enemy at strong points, and then the weapons of the assault group destroy automatic weapons' emplacements and break through house walls or barricades, making passageways. The infantry takes an assault position near the target of the assault. At the end of the preparation fire of the advance, it fires at windows, doors, attics and embrasures, as well as at targets located in other places.

Under artillery covering fire, the mine-clearing group (the attack group unaided) makes passageways through engineer-constructed barriers and openings in the walls of buildings with the use of explosives. At a signal from the assault group commander, in one move the infantry advances to the target of the assault, throws grenades at the enemy through windows, doors and openings in walls, delivering fire from individual weapons, and then forces its way into the building. If the building is attacked by two assault groups (subgroups), their actions should be coordinated. For example, first one assault group (subgroup) forces its way into the building and blockades the basement and entry to the upper stories, and then the second assault group does the same. Having seized the building, the infantry should, above all not permit the enemy to exit from the basement. For this purpose, traps are set near basement exits or it is laid waste with the use of explosives.

In the event of the enemy's persistent defense, rocket-type flamethrowers may be used. These burn active firing points or set fire to the entire structure.

The fire subgroup (group) reinforces the combat of assault groups, destroys enemy weapons in an assaulted structure, neutralizes weapons in neighboring buildings and repels enemy counterattacks. The fire subgroup should avoid movement along wide and long streets. For the purpose of approaching the target of attack, it should make use of yards, parks, gardens, alleys and openings in walls.

Existing barricades in an urban area are penetrated by artillery and tank fire, together with the simultaneous movement of the infantry from the flanks and rear of the enemy defense, for the purpose of unblocking streets and enabling tank and combat infantry vehicle activity.

The covering subgroup provides cover for assault (attack) subgroups while they are attacking and struggling to seize the interior of a building. It destroys a counterattacking enemy and the enemy defending itself in neighboring buildings. The covering subgroup points out targets to tanks and combat infantry vehicles and provides cover for them against tank destroyers.

After a structure is seized, action is immediately taken to fortify it and adapt it to defense from all sides, since the enemy most often will launch a counterattack within a short time using forces garrisoned in the closest buildings or reserves (second echelon). The opponent may launch a counterattack on the inside or outside of a building. The assault group repels a counterattack from position, utilizing seized buildings as well as vantage points and connecting trenches outside buildings.

In the event that it is discovered that the enemy has retreated, the assault group embarks on a pursuit through yards, openings in walls, basements, squares, gardens and parks, making impossible the enemy's defense of successive buildings.

Having completed its task, the assault group acts in compliance with additional tasks received from the battalion commander.

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## CLUJ-NAPOCA STUDENTS SURVEYED ON RELIGIOUS VIEWS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 7, 5 Apr 82 pp 17-19, 44

[Article by Achim Miha: "The Requirements of an Atheistic Education Based on Knowledge of the Religious Phenomenon"]

[Text] In recent decades, a relatively large number of articles, studies and books about atheistic education and the critical interpretation of illusory, unscientific views have been written in our country. Without denying the merits in the treatment of some aspects, we feel that in the majority of them they have not devoted satisfactory attention to knowing the real dimensions of the mystical phenomenon and of the state of atheism. Often, they have stayed on a speculative level and, not rarely, have devoted attention to matters that, although interesting and even topical, do not have a notable relevance for the states of affairs in our country.

In our opinion, ossified, dogmatized interpretations and formulations regarding the state of religiosity, the actual causes of its continuation, the relationships between science and religion, the content of atheism and so on existed and still exist in this field, owing to the fact that a concrete accent has not always been put on obtaining exact, extensive and deep knowledge. In what follows, on the basis of data and findings resulting from concrete sociological investigations, we will dwell on aspects that attract attention in connection with the need to carry out atheistic education on the basis of sound knowledge of its object. This necessity results not from speculative reasons (even if the speculation is done with good intentions) but from the reason of putting in realistic terms the matter of the effectiveness of the work of atheistic education.

Naturally, the ideas in this article and the way in which some problems are viewed and some conclusions are expressed do not pretend to be infallible and thus absolute and indisputable.

Atheistic education of the masses represents a basic component of the educational process in our society. Utilizing the formative vocation of the dialectical-materialistic outlook on the world and life and placing at its foundation everything advanced that mankind has created in the field of knowledge, such an education seeks to eliminate the illusions about the existence of a supernatural force, to implant

convictions about the materiality of the world. Viewing from this perspective, the great accomplishments in the field of cultivating the traits that define the makeup of the new man are noticeable.

The old and new sociological research that we did allows us to state that the values of the scientific world outlook constitute traits of the revolutionary consciousness, of the advanced attitude of the masses. Naturally, the premises from which atheistic education starts are not abstract but take into account real individuals, their concrete living conditions, their specific, differentiated mode of thinking. The persistent efforts to promote socialist culture and civilization are meant to contribute to the disappearance of the "gaps" between the material condition and the spiritual condition of the people. However, individuals with backward manifestations, with doubts about the explanations given by science to less investigated "zones," with distorted representations regarding the processes and phenomena in nature, society and thought, are encountered in our society. The existence of such individuals in different social strata and of the most varied ages and the persistence of unscientific views in some people constitute a phenomenon that can no longer be doubted. The work of education would be useless if it no longer had an object. While elementary good sense may be able to stop at recognizing this phenomenon as something that exists purely and simply, science, in contrast, through the specific character of its standards, requires rigorous determinations. It must answer the question of how extensive religiosity is and, eventually, must indicate the variation of this state according to certain criteria (age, sex, area of residence, profession and so on).

How necessary the answer to such problems is results, we believe, from the following example. In the case in which religion has a wholly insignificant place in the life and consciousness of the people, it is possible to speak of the presence of only religious remnants, and the ideological activity (and even the political activity) will devote peripheral attention to it. In contrast, if religiosity has dimensions beyond the value of the insignificant, then it must be viewed seriously, and it is normal for the educational and ideological work to be "calibrated" to this reality. Sometimes, it being felt that the expansion of the range of methods and forms of education and the intensification of the work, noted in reports and statements, are leading automatically to high effectiveness, it comes to be asserted that the state of religiosity is low or very low. However, knowledge of the respective state cannot and must not be replaced with an idyllic image that is sometimes asserted by the analyses without a critical and self-critical spirit that are made at various levels and sectors of our social life. In this field too, there is the real possibility, about which the secretary general of the party spoke in November of last year, that some, either out of ignorance or in order to distort certain states of affairs, may present unreal information and reports.

In connection with the state of religiosity in our country, we have on hand a few sociological investigations. Because they do not refer to the whole country and to all age and professional categories, they have a certain degree of bias. However, we consider it proper to say that it would be inefficient and unrealistic for us to wait until we have surveyed the whole country from the intended viewpoint and, only after that, to make the results known.

The information and data that we have on hand include age strata with a rather wide area of inclusion of the population of our country. If we view these strata in a logical connection, suggesting their conditioning, one should note, in particular,

the role of the families with children who are students (probably also pupils). Since all categories of families (from rural and urban areas, peasants, workers, intellectuals and so on) are present, through their children, in higher education, we can say that the data on this stratum have a wide degree of representativeness. Asked about their parents, a significant percentage of the students included in the sample for an opinion poll conducted at the end of last year<sup>1</sup> stated that they share nonatheistic views. From an investigation made among the pupils in several school units in the city of Bistrita,<sup>2</sup> it follows that part of them have distorted views, and others, although stating that science tells the truth about the world, declared that nonetheless they also think about a divine creator.

The registering of the categories of individuals over a long period--that is, from adolescence to adult age--and not just over a short span of time (pupils and students), permits the conclusion that we are not facing a situation in which the "fire" must be contained by firefighting measures, but a situation that presupposes the concerted and consistent action of all the factors, of the forms and methods of atheistic education.

In knowing the dimensions of the phenomenon tackled, the determination of its evolution is of particular importance. Naturally, it indicates changes within the consciousness of the people and, to a certain extent, successes or shortcomings in atheistic education. Regarding this matter, we are in the possession of data referring to the situation in the student environment, in which only decreases are not always registered.

With good reason, one of the theses usually endorsed by philosophers is that "religion is basically opposed to science."<sup>3</sup> In a recently published volume on the problems of atheistic education there is a chapter titled "The Radical Opposition Between Science and Religion."<sup>4</sup> If we view this thesis just from a theoretical angle, there are grounds that make us say that it is in keeping with reason, with knowledge. Science operates with truths or seeks to obtain them, while religion has as component elements ideas and beliefs which do not represent true, verifiable reflections on nature, society and man or which reflect reality in a distorted, fanciful way. Owing to this fact, science and religion not only cannot merge with one another but, moreover, are mutually opposed.

The respective philosophical thesis is viewed as having a particular practical value in the work of atheistic education. If there is an opposition between science and religion, then, logically, it follows that the popularization of science represents the main antidote for backward mentalities. Starting from some data, we decided to verify the thesis of the opposition between the two forms of human spirituality. We asked the subjects to give their opinion about the degree of reflection of reality that science, religion, philosophy and morals achieve. We assumed that if such an opposition exists, then those who feel that science offers the truth will not say at the same time that religion also represents a reflection of reality with value as truth.

The results of the research done in 1974 and of that in November 1981 confirm the presence of an opposition between the responses given to the questions about science and those about religion only in the case of atheists. In contrast, it does not exist in the mind of nonatheists. In 1974, for example, out of the total of 271 persons who stated that religion offers the truth about man, 236 attributed to science



at the same time value as true knowledge. Last year's research reveals that nearly all of those who said that religion has value as truth assert, at the same time, that science also reflects the truth.

The fact that in the mind of nonatheists the awareness of the opposition between science and religion is veiled cannot be viewed merely as something interesting, possibly unexplainable or without theoretical relevance and, in particular, without importance in the field of atheistic education. The attitude of not taking it into consideration is foreign to the ethics of science and contrary to the Marxist philosophical outlook's openness to the new.

In our opinion, there are at least a few ways to interpret the nonconfirmation of the opposition between science and religion in the case of nonatheists. First, it could be said that, precisely because they are nonatheists, the nonatheists are not aware of the opposition to which we referred. If we want them to become atheists, then we must raise them to the level of awareness of this opposition by drawing them closer to science, by raising their level of general and scientific education. In the case of the research done by us, we do not consider such an interpretation valid. It cannot be said that the students were not and are not in continual and wide contact with the successes of science. Second, we ought to view the matter of the awareness of the opposition between science and religion not merely as an indifferent juxtaposition of them. Their relationship must be brought out from a viewpoint that may go beyond science's disposedness proper. Such a function can be fulfilled by the dialectical-materialistic philosophy, which, with skill and tact, must give an atheistic significance or direction to the results of science. Of course, it must not turn out that the Marxist philosophy is superimposed on science or turns its back on science. Only in connection with science can it successfully fulfill its functions of atheistic education. This is precisely why--we believe--this education is called "scientific" (therefore from science) "materialistic" (therefore from philosophy).

The existence of a certain "gap" between atheistic education and the philosophy taught in the institutes of science and higher education follows because, in the research done in 1974 and 1981, many of those who exhibited a religious mentality are not aware of the opposition between religion and the Marxist philosophy. In addition to this, we could consider that a distorted attitude and, in general, a distorted mentality are not automatically amenable to science. In any case, the problem has to be viewed and studied (especially) with the utmost care. It would be fitting if, instead of endlessly repeating the thesis of the opposition between science and religion, the philosophy and sociology studies would approach it more analytically and not from dogma to reality but from reality to theory. Some contemporary religions no longer have, in principle, the same nihilistic, rigid, dogmatic attitude toward science or, at least, toward some sciences or toward some scientific discoveries. This, for instance, the case with the Seventh Day Adventists: "The tendency to use the achievements of scientific and technical progress to substantiate its "rightness" and the pragmatic attitude toward science represent characteristic traits of Adventism."<sup>5</sup>

In our opinion, the absence of an opposition between science and religion in the consciousness of nonatheists (in the research taken into account, of course, although we assume that the fact has a much more general character) constitutes a meaningful result of the sociological investigation both for understanding the state of religiosity and for carrying out atheistic education. In the first case, we ought to



eliminate any theoretical ultraconservatism and not consider that, inevitably, where there is science and where the people adopt it religion no longer finds any place to survive. In our opinion, it is not excluded but is wholly possible that in certain cases and periods a rise in the level of scientific education may lead not to a decline in the state of religiosity but to the preservation of its earlier level. In the second case, in carrying out the work of atheistic education it must be borne in mind that to bet everything on a single card--that is, on the spread of science--cannot be a practice always crowned with complete success. Science has a very great educational importance, but it is not the only condition for the combating of religious mentalities.

In dealing with religion, such subjects as the following seem obsessive: religion as a social phenomenon; humanism and religion; criticism of theological doctrines referring to the essence and role of religion; the social role of religion in different historical stages; socialism and religion; man and the forces of nature; what religion is and how it appeared; and so on. It would be useful to also study the theoretical internal structure of this form of social consciousness in order to be able to know how the zones of ideas and beliefs are divided up, in the order of importance, and what changes occur at this level as a result of the passage of time and, implicitly, of contemporary or very recent social changes. Knowledge of this aspect of the problem seems to us extremely important in the sense of adequating and concretizing the atheistic education carried out by philosophy, the natural sciences and the sociohuman sciences.

In order to find the zones of influence within the religious consciousness and their weight, we composed questions for a questionnaire from the main "arguments" of an etiological, cosmological, teleological, ontological, axiological, empirical, epistemological and anthropological order in favor of religion mentioned in the specialized literature. The analysis of the data obtained poses more problems.

First, it is a question of the weight of the axiological "argument" in the structure of the zones of influence of the religious consciousness. Although it is subordinate to the general axiology (the problem of choice, the definition of value), it nonetheless has a particular character, involving the field of morals. This result is not odd. It correlates with other data of the investigations in 1974 and 1981. Asked if religion does or does not have value as truth or practical utility in three fields--that is, those of nature, society and man--the highest percentage of the responses in favor of religion in both pieces of research occurred in the section on knowledge of man and improvement of him. Some data referring to the causes of the state of religiosity also support the same finding. The empirical "argument" also has a significant weight.

Second, there is posed the problem of how suitable the philosophy textbook in secondary education, the university courses of the same nature, and ideological education of all types are for the task of answering and combating the two "arguments" that hold the top spots in the metaphysical structure of the religious consciousness. In our opinion, in the above-mentioned means of education the socially necessary attention is not devoted at all to the moral problems of man. At the same time, while a whole series of sensible things are said about the origin of religion in the part of the philosophy textbooks and courses on historical materialism, in contrast, the matter of the continuity and persistence of religion over the course of time and in all societies to the present is not, in fact, treated. The references to the

relationship between socialism and religion take into account, in particular, the party's and socialist state's position on religion.

Along the same line of thinking, we ought to say that even the epistemological "argument" does not get the necessary response in the philosophy textbooks and courses. True, many things are said about science in them, but next to nothing is said about the delicate and human process of scientific knowledge and creation. The references to the psychology of creation are practically nonexistent. In our opinion, it would be advisable for the teaching works used to teach philosophy in secondary school and college, without ignoring the general structure of the discipline, to devote special space and concern to the subjects where now the phenomenon of "good conductivity of a religious mentality" is clearly more conspicuous. The philosophy textbooks and courses must not be made up according to some apparently absolute recipes. It is very well known that Marx felt that the essence of philosophy lies in its connection with the practical requirements of the material and spiritual activities. By absolutizing a certain "recipe" for the structure of the Marxist philosophy according to chapters and problems and not taking into consideration the requirements of reality, one can arrive at serious errors of a theoretical and practical order.

In the research done, we had in mind another aspect of the structure of the religious phenomenon. It is a question of the presence of important, relatively distinct aspects of this phenomenon. We took into consideration the gnoseological dimension consisting mainly of recognizing or not recognizing the value of truth in religious ideas, we asked the subjects to give their opinion on the praxiological or transformative disposedness of religion, its metaphysical content (the indicated "arguments") interested us, we had in mind the matter of the explanation of the religious phenomenon and the attitude of those who exhibit a religious mentality. The research confirmed the existence of these aspects and revealed their relative independence from one another or, in other words, their mutual irreducibility, with the phenomenon appearing on all planes and in unequal proportions. This is, for instance, the situation with the attitudinal dimension. We obtained the data needed for circumscribing it (the research in 1981) with the help of the answers to the question: in your relations with other people, how do you proceed? The response-variants, with their statistical weights, were: if the one with whom I have a certain relation (of marriage, of kinship, of friendship, of work and so on) is not religious, I try to convince him to be, 2.24 percent; if he is not an atheist, I try to be, 20.33 percent; he can believe what he wants, 77.44 percent.

This field of the structure of the religious phenomenon compels us to consider not only at the level of journalism, studies or books the fact that the phenomenon is extremely complex. Being spread over so many dimensions (moreover, we suspect that those indicated do not include all of them), we feel that the propagation of science must be intensified. But we would not be realistic if we believed that merely by means of this the belief in the supernatural could exhibit a marked decline. Usually, when the matter of the factors, forms and methods of atheistic education is discussed in our country, there are taken into account the school, political and ideological education, the activity in the field of culture and art, the means of mass communication and information, the dissemination of scientific and technical knowledge. There are omitted, in this way, the means that could influence the praxiological dimension and, in a certain sense, the attitudinal one.

Let us refer to a few cases. Correlating the degree of religiosity with the grades obtained by students, we found that to a lesser extent those with high grades are

nonatheists. Hence it could be concluded that, in a way, the whole process of exigently and responsibly raising the student's level of professional training can have consequences with an atheistic character. Professional satisfaction seems to be a good atheism-conducting element. In the variant of an open-ended response to the question referring to the causes of the maintenance of religion in our country, opinions relevant to the matter to which we are referring were written down. In this regard, we note just one response: "Communist morals are very human, but their principles do not always apply. In what should people believe?"

In view of the weight of the problems of man and of the moral problems in the composition of the religious phenomenon, as well as the praxiological and attitudinal dimension of the latter, we suggest that the practical, continual and nonconcessive observance of a high human morality represents a means of atheistic education of at least the same importance and effectiveness as the work of scientific-materialistic education. Of course, there is not posed, in this case, the problem of continually repeating the provisions of the Code of the Principles and Norms of Communist Work and Life and of Socialist Ethics and Equity, but of breathing new life into them in the world of everyday social relations. Under any circumstances, each person--and especially the party members--must conform exigently and freely to them by virtue of the imperatives of his own conscience. Only by also taking into consideration this aspect does atheistic education become indeed scientific-materialistic and, at the same time, revolutionary-humanistic education.

In connection with the causes of the maintenance of the belief in a divine force we will refer only to some aspects based to a certain extent on the data from the research done.

First, we asked the subjects to state their opinion on the main causes. They were given nine possibilities of responses formulated on the basis of the specialized literature (they reflect largely what is usually said about the explanation of the existence of religion under socialism) and an open-ended variant (where they could write down what they wanted). Combining these responses into just a few groups, we obtained the following situation: the force of tradition and customs, 75.80 percent; the influence of the family, relatives and friends, 20.01 percent; religious explanations, 24.14 percent; the activity of clergymen and religious institutions, 28.27 percent; inadequacy in the field of the work of atheistic education, 15.57 percent; causes indicated by the subjects, 2.38 percent.

The percentage attained by the force of traditions and customs is, naturally, something to think about. Is it a question of a real attempt to explain the maintenance of religion or a self-justification? At any rate, we feel that the problems of traditions and customs must be viewed carefully and elucidated theoretically, with attention and skill. What is their value? Observing certain traditions and customs does not automatically mean acceptance of all traditions and customs. In our opinion, this field, which constitutes an object of research for sociology and social anthropology, has been almost completely underrated in our sociohuman sciences. At the same time, it has not been assimilated, either, by the lessons on historical materialism that are taught to pupils and students. Let us recognize openly that the references to this matter are peripheral and unconvincing for the subject under discussion, that the structures of certain teaching and educational means have become an obstacle in the way of a more vigorous affirmation of socially validated requirements.

Second, starting from the investigations made by some researchers, as well as from those to which we also referred, we tried to determine the influence that the family has on the mentality of young people. The problem is not at all simple. It seems that the family influences the religious state through the profession of the father and the mother. Students with parents who are farmers, laborers and skilled workers are more exposed to these mentalities. It is quite astonishing that the same thing, not exactly to the same extent, can be said about the professions of doctor and teacher. Both of these professions, through their specific character, involving direct contact with people, can be a source of religious influence not only for family members but also for others. The parents' religion too favors the religious mentality. The best media for this mentality are the neo-Protestant and Protestant religions. Out of the number of subjects who were taken into consideration in the research in 1981, 29.96 percent of them feel that the parents influence them. Of the parents, to a more significant extent, the mother proves to be, more than the father, a persuasive factor for religious mentalities.

We would like to also refer to a more general aspect. The problem that is often posed in connection with the relationship between socialism and religion is the following: does religion under socialism have an objective basis or not? Most of the time, the response is, explicitly or implicitly, negative. Under socialism it is said that religion does not have objective causes, with the exploitative social classes being eliminated. Naturally, the immediate consequence of this viewpoint is that the explanations of the maintenance of religion under socialism are of a subjective nature. A derived consequence of it is the absolutizing connection of the maintenance of religion with the deficiencies in atheistic education.

As is known, Marx said that "the religious reflex of the real world cannot, in general, disappear except when the relations of everyday practical life represent in a current way clear and rational relations of the people with one another and with nature. The process of social life--that is, the process of material production--cannot dispel the bank of mystical fog that covers its face except when it, a product of people associated by free consent, is under their conscious and methodical control. For this purpose, however, there must be a material base for society--that is, a number of material conditions of existence, which, in their turn, are the natural product of long and difficult historical development." The achievement of these premises even under the conditions of socialism is a long, extremely complex and not at all easy (moreover, unexpectedly hard) process. At the same time, we consider it proper to say that Marx did not picture the current state and potentiality of weaponry and the current arms race or the deterioration of man's relations with nature. At present, mankind is going through a world crisis, and the evolution of socialism is and can be marked at times by errors, economic and even social difficulties. All these things can have repercussions, in unsuspected forms and intensities, on the life and consciousness of the people and, consequently, on the state of religiosity.

The category of the subjective factors (tradition, customs, the influence of the family, gaps in general and, especially, scientific education and so on) has a significant weight in the causation of the state of religiosity in our country. At the same time, and above all, it would not be right if we were to bow down before the idea that the state of religiosity, among other things, reflects inevitably a certain situation on an existential plane. In principle, there are no obstacles that would stop the social consciousness of the people from being in advance of certain negative objective conditions, be they hangovers or new phenomena. In this regard--as Comrade

Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out--it is necessary to eliminate the shortcomings in the political and educational activity, to decisively combat obscurantism, to raise to levels of maximum exactingness and effectiveness the entire work of scientific-materialistic and revolutionary-humanistic education.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The research was performed under the aegis of the party committee of the Cluj-Napoca University Center. Some 18 teaching personnel from the departments of social sciences, and the dean's offices and the party committees and bureaus in colleges and institutes, made their contribution to collecting the data. The sample represented 10.85 percent of the available student population (about 15,000 students). The automatic data processing was done with the aid of the computer center at "Babes-Bolyai" University.
2. Ana Pop, "Reason and Affectivity Must Be Involved to the Same Extent," in "Educatia Materialist-Stiintifica a Elevilor si Studentilor" [Scientific-Materialistic Education of Pupils and Students], 1981, pp 24-30, a supplement published by REVISTA DE PEDAGOGIE.
3. "Dictionar de Filozofie" [Dictionary of Philosophy], Politica Publishing House, 1978, p 594.
4. "Educatia Materialist-Stiintifica si Umanist-Revolutionara" [Scientific-Materialistic and Revolutionary-Humanistic Education], lectures, a collection of texts, Didactica and Pedagogica Publishing House, 1980, pp 22 et seqq.
5. V. N. Lentin, "The Seventh Day Adventists and Science," in "Influenta Vietii Sociale Asupra Religiei" [The Influence of Social Life on Religion], a documentary notebook, No 15, 1980, "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy.

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# ROLE OF PEDAGOGICAL RESEARCH IN IMPROVING EDUCATION OF YOUTH

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[Article by Reader Dr Ioan Jinga, school inspector general for Bucharest municipality:  
"What Do Schools Expect of Pedagogical Research in Improving Education of Youth?"]

[Text] The last few decades have marked a period of profound changes in education and instruction. Romanian schools have undergone a radical and regular renovation chiefly aimed at their social mission and their best possible correlation with the present and future needs of socialist society. The RCP has mobilized all of society's progressive forces to form the fully developed personality and the new human nature, but the schools have been given the main responsibility.

Accordingly the schools' mission is far broader than it was in the years before the socialist revolution, although there are also opinions to the effect that the role of educational institutions has been diminished by the expansion of the mass media and other educational influences available to society. And the fact that a quarter of the Romanian population is actually attending schools and that practically the entire population is covered by constant education, including the "third age-group," also indicates that the schools as main institutions of education, instruction and culture are playing a growing role in preparing the young generations (and not them alone) for work and life.

But the highly urgent problem that arises is that of finding the best ways of rationalizing the process of education and instruction in such a way that as many pupils as possible will be well qualified under the conditions of mass education and their theoretical, practical and general-cultural training will enable them to integrate effectively in a useful social activity and use their aptitudes and talents in various extraprofessional activities for the full development of each one's sense of responsibility.

It is generally known what the educators must do in order to rationalize education and enhance its formative-indoctrinational effectiveness. Pedagogic research, the technical publications and publishing houses, and the improvement courses have done a great deal to place education and instruction on a scientific basis and to publicize the research findings and good results. Meanwhile the guidance and control organs have made a greater effort to interest teachers in the problems of modernizing education.

In practice, however, the new conception of education (based on the idea of "constant education") despite its constructive implications (but often inconvenient ones for educators) has not gone very far beyond discussions and some modest attempts. It is the fault, if we may call it that, both of the schools (especially the inertia that still persists among the teachers and their resistance to changes) and of pedagogical research, which avoids some of the more complicated problems facing teachers and does not make a consistent enough effort to provide models and solutions of operational value. And even the research results corroborated by experience are assimilated but slowly because they require a greater expenditure of energy (intellectual and physical) on the part of educators, and an effort to think that some do not attempt sufficiently and others cannot make.

And so the questions naturally arise, "What must we do" in research and education and what do the schools expect of pedagogical research? Unquestionably a great deal, but with the qualification that while listing new expectations and demands upon scientific research education itself must more promptly accept and much more widely apply the previous results of Romanian as well as foreign research and adapt the latter to the particular conditions of the Romanian schools.

In a series that we consider determined by priorities, we think scientific research must first provide the decision-makers with better methods for:

#### Selection, Training and Improvement of Teachers

This is a current requirement for all levels of education, but especially for secondary and higher education. Since secondary education, for example, is predominantly industrial (It is known that 90 percent of the high-school pupils are to be enrolled in industrial high schools by the end of 1985), we can no longer tolerate general cultural professors in those institutions who have no technological training in keeping with the curricula of the schools wherein they are teaching, nor any engineers or other specialists with no teaching aptitude or psychopedagogical disciplines. Then by what criteria are the future high-school professors to be trained and selected (regardless of their specialties, and how will they be subsequently improved as to subject matter and teaching methods?

The same questions apply to educators and teachers, who are still trained in a "traditional" way although the last few decades have brought major changes in both preschool and primary education: Preschool education is an integral part of the educational system, taking over some of the instructive-educational tasks of primary education, mathematics is taught in the modern way in grades 1-4, practical application has been emphasized throughout the educational process, etc.

On the basis of studies and experiments to examine the professional behavior of the graduates of pedagogical high schools in the light of the current demands upon the educating and teaching function, the subject institutes could provide the decision-making authorities with measures for reorganizing the educational plans and school programs and for improving the educational process as a whole, in accordance with the new functions of those categories of educators.

For the same purpose, the problem of improving the system for selecting teachers in higher education for purposes of training personnel for preuniversity education should be reconsidered, as well as the need of developing a pedagogy of higher education in general and technical education in particular, naturally in collaboration with the universities themselves and especially with the departments of pedagogy and psychology.



Accordingly we regard training teachers for all kinds of schools as the primary problem of pedagogical research, since the quality of teacher training decisively determines the quality of the training of preschool children, pupils, students, the labor force and the individual as a Man.

Of course the problems of training and improving teachers, which are outlined here in a general way, must be developed on the basis of the findings and the conclusions drawn in the "field" by the central and local control organs and on the basis of the discussions between the researchers themselves and the schoolmen on all levels of education.

### Higher Standards for School Training

Under conditions of compulsory 10-year general education (and 12-year in the future) complete advancement of the pupils is sometimes viewed with suspicion and provokes many discussions among educators, parents and the public. Some feel that repeating cannot be eliminated in primary education or curtailed in gymnasium and high-school education without making concessions in the quality of the pupils' training and "closing the eyes" to deficiencies in that training. The problem is certainly not a simple one, or soluble under conditions of traditional education, wherein the teacher or professor applied the same pedagogic "treatment" to all pupils. The new situation primarily requires a new conception of teaching-learning and the relationship of the educator to the educated, as well as a new didactic strategy shifting the emphasis from the informative to the formative and from treatment "en bloc" to individual treatment according to the pupil's psychophysical characteristics, the level of his training at a given point, his pace and capacity for learning, his interest in his education, his family conditions, etc. This new situation also calls for more intensive and efficient use of the modern facilities for study with which the schools are equipped and of the psychopedagogic research results, especially those in the field of human learning and scholastic learning in particular.

Scientific research should publicize these results and adapt them to the various cycles of education and scholastic disciplines, organizing pilot educational units to test new ways and means of instruction and new tools for evaluating the effectiveness of instructive-educational work.

It may be said that this has been started. The Institute of Pedagogical Research, the School Inspectorate of Bucharest Municipality and the Teachers Fund established educational units (on various levels) last year to regularly apply the main research results in order to rationalize the instructive-educational process. These schools will gradually become standard units primarily for exchanges of experience, pedagogical procedure and improvement programs. The present problem is that of expanding, diversifying and intensifying this collaboration between research and school practice in order to make it a coordinated system characterized by a continuous and (especially) tangible effort toward improvement.

Many schools wishing to rationalize the instructive-educational process are taking a number of initiatives and conducting experiments, some of which are of certain value while others are still debatable from the standpoint of didactic effectiveness or even counterindicated. They are trying to organize teaching-learning activity more efficiently than in the ordinary classroom (for example, in rooms for disciplines or in "specialized halls" for grades 1-4), to find ways of grouping school youth and organizing the lessons to obtain maximum results with all categories of pupils (allowing

for their actual potentials of course), to use visual propaganda to accomplish teaching objectives, etc. Such initiatives are going on in the schools of all counties, and interesting discussions of this subject were held in Timisoara at the beginning of January, in the course of the improvement effort organized by the Ministry of Education and Instruction with the school inspectors general throughout Romania.

It may be said that didactic innovations have been adopted in practice ahead of scientific research. This is no bad thing in view of the huge creative potential that the schools have, but it presents a problem because research should "descend" to scholastic realities, it should be more familiar with these initiatives, and it should analyze them and decide upon their pedagogic suitability and efficiency as well as the resulting economic effects.

The same problem arises in finding better ways of rationalizing indoctrinational work with preschool children and pupils and with all youth in the educational units. In this connection, the session of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee on 22 January 1982 approved some measures to improve political indoctrination in schools and to develop the role of the party organizations and organs and heighten the responsibility of all youth and children's organizations in order to radically improve the revolutionary communist indoctrination and education of the young generation for life and work.

Actually there are serious shortcomings in this field that have been criticized repeatedly but persist because the educators do not invariably have a methodological "arsenal" to permanently resolve the educational problems confronting them in their daily activity. Education by work and for work, practical education, patriotic education and atheist education, despite the progress made, are marked by a certain routine character and do not always have the expected effectiveness, leading us to believe that it is not a question of the educators' good intentions alone but also of their professional competence in the measures taken to mold the new human nature.

To the best of our knowledge, the Institute of Pedagogical Research has a program organized for two main purposes, (1) research on the structure and evolution of the formation of communist awareness and the process of communist education, and (2) research on rationalization of sociomoral and socioprofessional development, socialization and integration of the personality and on organizational and educational methods for increasing the efficiency of the productive, economic and social activity of the workers' and educational collectives.

It is important for these studies to provide educators with models of practical, effective action and appropriate tools.

#### Content of Education Correlated with Socioeconomic Evolution

Another major aim of pedagogical research is to integrate education with production and research, and this also presents a number of problems in connection with better correlation of society's manpower requirements with youth's aptitudes and wishes, changing the attitudes of parents, professors and enterprise managers toward production procedures, and finding better ways of inculcating the knowledge and habits essential to the occupational training of the future graduates in view of the constant changes taking place in the production process due to the impact of science upon manufacturing technologies and to scientific organization of production and labor.

Previous experience has proved that practical instruction in compact periods (merged procedure) produces better results. But this form of organization does not fully meet the requirements of the pupils' advance theoretical training, nor those for correlating the programs in the basic disciplines with the technological ones. To be sure an intensive scientific study allowing for all parameters of organization of the educational process and providing optimal ways of alternating theoretical with practical instruction would be welcome.

I consider it no less important to find more inspired means of harmonizing the aspects of education as completely as possible, for we cannot overlook the fact that the cultural and general-human side of the future worker is somewhat indistinct, although it is our duty to train people with a high level of culture and knowledge who think variously, flexibly and creatively and who can perform but also manage, think for themselves, and play an active part in all civic affairs.

In another connection, we expect research to provide new ways of improving the content of education, programs and textbooks, which do not yet entirely meet the requirements of life and of economic, scientific and cultural development. There is still a considerable gap between the values they impart and those essential to a useful social activity and between individual aspirations and the needs of society. If such correlations are to be achieved, the content of education (viewed in the light of constant education and therefore involving all elements of its system) must provide for consistent accomplishment of the aims of education, which aims are determined in their turn by the political, social and cultural aims.

The authors of the programs and textbooks (from preschool to university education) too readily overlook the fact that instruction and education go on throughout people's whole lifetimes, that such changes are taking place in the realm of knowledge that training of the encyclopedic type is practically out of the question, and that it is becoming urgently necessary to relieve the programs of redundant, useless elements and to supplement the disciplines by individual study, retraining or other forms of instruction in or out of school according to the requirements of the occupation performed and the interests of each in the light of his own aptitudes and wishes.

Modular education, whereby the content of school programs is organized according to "modules of disciplines" that can be combined according to need by removing some and adding others, has been discussed for a long time and would best meet the present demands of multiqualification and evolution of the process of scientific knowledge. But this method of organizing the content of education has received only a very limited application in practice because, among other things, pedagogical research has not yet provided any methods of modular organization of school programs for various subjects of education, just as the programs and textbooks contain only quite haphazard guidance as to the criteria for optimal selection and use of information and for organizing individual study and the task of learning in general, although self-teaching is gaining more and more ground and supporters under conditions of constant education.

Teachers training itself should be reconsidered in this light, with emphasis upon the educators' contact with the world of work and the modern occupations and upon the efforts to familiarize them with the new content education is to have and with the idea that they themselves should participate in the process of renovating the programs and textbooks.\*

\*"Educational Programs and Constant Education," coordinated by L. d'Hainaut and published recently by the Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House under UNESCO sponsorship, contains many useful suggestions for researchers and particularly points out the urgency of this problem.

It is planned to generalize high-school education with an increase in the proportion of evening studies up to 30 percent. Under those circumstances the wish of many evening pupils and professors for textbooks containing the methods and techniques of intellectual work, as well as those for evaluation and self-evaluation of the effectiveness of instructive-educational activity, should not be disregarded.

Scientific research could be of more help (by involving the schools in studies and experiments) in finding better methods for multiqualification in keeping with the requirements of an increasingly pronounced occupational mobility and also for familiarizing pupils with the mechanism of workers self-management and self-administration, since they are problems that must be treated more seriously in gymnasiums and high schools in collaboration with the enterprises wherein the pupils acquire production experience.

The need for pupils to participate on research teams with professors and other specialists in solving problems confronting the economy leads us to suggest development of a scientific research methodology that will be accessible to pupils in the higher grades, although even the professors could benefit by it.

Research should make a greater effort to integrate the new mass media in the educational process. It is true that the Institute of Pedagogic Research has organized a laboratory for multimedia means wherein the efficient use of such modern educational means is demonstrated, and various schools are trying to introduce and use them on a broader scale. But the most efficient ways of doing this have not yet been found, so that expanded use of the new teaching technologies will be resisted by the teachers, who resort to them primarily in case of inspections and then quite awkwardly.

That is the state of application of the more recent theories of teaching and differentiated and individualized teaching activities and other current aspects of modern education, about which the teachers know something but not enough to apply them efficiently in current practice.

#### Management of Units of Education and Instruction

In everyday school practice, the qualitative leap society expects in the all-around training of the young generations according to the present and future requirements of socioeconomic development depends on the way the units of education and instruction are managed.

In the course of time a number of improvements in the selection of teachers for administrative work made it possible for directors and deputy directors to be professors with good political-ideological and specialized backgrounds, but they were less knowledgeable about efficient methods and principles of management. And the works published in Romania about scientific management of education and schools are generally based upon practical experience (by no means negligible) and study of the technical literature on management of economic units.

School managers expect pedagogical research to provide solutions to their daily problems and especially methods of scientific organization of the work to obtain the best results with the existing material resources and the employed specialists. But the directors still do not know enough about working on a team, making the most use of the organizational framework created by collective management and making decisions within that framework, organizing and maintaining efficient control, keeping records and



checking fulfillment of the assigned tasks. They have difficulties in evaluating the teachers' work, usually doing it empirically although the results of instruction and education depend to a great extent upon the quality of the control and guidance. The school managers very readily accept the professors' explanations and justifications in the absence of any clear formulas for differentiated organization of teaching and learning according to the situation and each pupil's individual traits.

The same problem arises in connection with evaluation of the results obtained by pupils. At the suggestion of the Ministry of Education and Instruction the Institute of Pedagogical Research recently prepared compulsory minimum standards of knowledge according to cycles of education, which standards are to be tested and applied if they are borne out by practical experience.

But evaluation of youth's training cannot be confined solely to the knowledge acquired. Therefore the studies must be continued so that administrative and teaching school personnel can be provided with the necessary tools to measure and evaluate the other components of the pupils' training such as habits, behavior, aptitudes (especially occupational) etc.

The Romanian technical literature is particularly inadequate as regards regional management of education, including school inspections. The methods of planning, performing and exploiting a school inspection are very diverse, but in general the inspectors lack an adequate conceptual and methodological background. This is another field to which pedagogical research must make its contribution, thus helping to clarify and resolve some problems vital to education as a whole.

#### Concept of "Effectiveness of Education"

As a corollary of the foregoing considerations the meaning of the concept of "effectiveness of education" requires more precise clarification, going beyond general and often ambiguous pronouncements to specify, from the operational standpoint, just when an instructive-educational activity can be considered effective and how this can be measured.

So that the effectiveness of school activity will not be evaluated unilaterally, according to the percentage of promotions alone, the Ministry of Education and Instruction has devised a "system of indicators" calculated according to the planned levels: state of teaching in cycles, losses of pupils and the unschooled, fulfillment of the scholarship plan, the commodity output plan, prizes won in the competitions in disciplines and trades, state of discipline among pupils and teachers, teachers' participation in retraining (attendance, graduation), hiring of graduates of the first and second stages of high school in production, pupils' participation in patriotic work, number of pupils in the applied-technical circles, pupils in the artistic circles and units, value of the output produced through integration (including that for self-equipment), pupils enrolled in the vacation programs, value obtained from collection of medicinal plants, bottles, jugs, waste paper, scrap iron and the other recoverable and reusable materials.

It is the duty of pedagogical research to consider the ideas basic to this form of overall evaluation of the effectiveness of school activities and to check the application of the said indicators in order to rule later on the criteria upon which a more detailed system of indicators could be based that would permit an exhaustive evaluation of the effectiveness of the instructive-educational activity performed by each

educator, by the school unit, and on the regional and national levels. It is also necessary to specify some "instruments" for measuring and evaluating the effectiveness of education, instruments to be available to the teachers and the managers in the guidance system as well.

These are a few of the many considerations now confronting Romanian schools on various levels and their guidance and control organs. Such urgent problems are awaiting suggestions and solutions from pedagogic research that will enhance the quality and effectiveness of education as a whole as a major means of training the labor force and forming the new man.

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## PARTY VIEWS ON STATE, SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 3, 5 Feb 82 pp 24-26

[Article by Ladislau Lorincz/

[Text/ The new developmental stage of Romanian socialist society inaugurated by the 12th Party Congress opened up new prospects for intensified socialist democracy, improved uniform planning and management of all fields of social activity, and intensified workers self-management and self-administration. All this naturally requires further democratization of the state organization, institutionalization and efficient operation of the forms of social management with the participation of the broad masses. The party's and state's unremitting efforts toward socioeconomic development and improved social and production relations have brought about radical changes in Romanian society. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in November 1981, "Romania has become a powerful socialist state with a modern industry and an advanced agriculture in full development and improvement."

The socialist state's exercise, through its organs and bodies, of some important functions in organization and development of the socioeconomic processes is an objective requirement for the best fulfillment of the complex tasks of the present stage.

But enlarging the state's functions in uniform management and organization of all social activity does not mean placing it above society, developing its administrative aspects or "statizing" social relations and processes. On the contrary, it means rapprochement and osmosis between the state and society as a whole. The state's role grows with intensification and improvement of socialist democracy and it is organically involved with the latter and with the forms of workers self-management and self-administration.

As the RCP secretary general said, there must be an increasingly close involvement of the activity of the state organs with the new democratic bodies as they gradually take over a number of functions in planning and management of socioeconomic activity. This provides for true democratization of the state organs and strengthens the masses' role in approving and implementing decisions as well as working class control over the state organs' entire activity.

As the representative of all society, the socialist state reflects and defends the basic interests of the working class as the main force for social progress as well as those of the peasantry and the other social categories. It can be said that in the



present stage of national development the socialist state is the largest political organization of the workers' power, under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party, and the chief instrument with which the fully developed socialist society is being constructed.

Like any social-political phenomenon the socialist state is not fixed once and for all but is subject to profound changes generated by the changes in economic development and in the class structure of society. Thus the functions of the Romanian socialist society, its organizational structure, and its working methods change from one stage of socialist construction to another. At a certain stage the Romanian socialist state could be considered one of dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the present circumstances, as Nicolae Ceausescu says, "In view of the changes that have taken place in Romanian socialist society and the new democratic forms of management, we can say with no fear of error that the idea of dictatorship of the proletariat no longer corresponds to the current historic social realities in Romania."

Upon gaining political power and abolishing exploitation, the proletariat became a leading working class as owner, producer and beneficiary of the national wealth. Such substantive changes have not only theoretical but especially practical implications, being ultimately aimed at the formation (through the alliance of the working class with the other classes and social strata of workers) of a broad social base of political power exercised in the entire people's interest. Under such circumstances all Romanian citizens regardless of nationality, class or social stratum participate in social-political activity, and our existing forms of management of the state and of the whole political system reflect the broadest democracy.

#### Role and Evolution of State Functions in the Present Stage

As a political instrument of the entire people's power, it is the mission of the Romanian socialist state to implement the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism. A series of management organs and instruments were established in order to implement that strategic objective. Exercise of the state's functions of social organization and management heavily depends upon its ability to convert the socioeconomic and political objectives to legal standards by enacting generally binding rules of behavior.

The basic objectives of the Romanian socialist state and its particular role are implemented by means of the functions determined by the nature and tasks of the state in each stage of its development. Therefore the state's functions are not immutable but evolve with the changes in the social structure. Accordingly a number of functions are modified and transformed as they are taken over and exercised (with another content to be sure) by the democratic bodies of the masses in the course of worker self-management and the masses' participation in all social activities.

No function of the state is established haphazardly or outside its fields of basic activity, nor is any kind of activity of a state nature or implemented through the state organs a function of the state. If we accepted such a view it would mean there are as many functions as activities implemented by the socialist state. What qualifies an activity (or group of activities) as a state function is its fundamental nature. By the time a given stage is over, the content of a given state function has changed, its aspects have been diminished or amplified, and new functions have appeared while others have vanished. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "In the

course of building the fully developed socialist society and creating the conditions for transition to communism, the functions of the state will be changed even further and its internal activity will be concentrated upon organizing production and scientific and cultural affairs."

Among the functions of the Romanian socialist state the economic one plays a particularly important part. The extent and importance of this function are explained by the state's critical role in uniform planning and organization of the national economy and in solving the problems of social activities. Its exercise is based upon the Uniform National Plan, which provides for harmonious development of the productive forces throughout the whole nation, improvement of social relations, and the constant rise of the people's level of civilization and material and cultural living standard. In the exercise of the economic function the state organs try to improve all economic planning and management in industry, agriculture, transportation etc. and also in their sectors and subsectors. The socialist state uses the Uniform National Plan for Socioeconomic Development as a major means of regulating all economic processes, since planning is a basic element of all socioeconomic and political management of the nation.

The particularly complex problems of the current five-year plan naturally require the state organs (ministries, centrals, economic units etc.) to play a more active part in managing all economic activities, organizing production, and eliminating the defects that still persist in some units and even in some ministries. As it was said at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in November 1981, many enterprises and some ministries have not shown themselves prepared to take the firmest measures for rapid solution of the problems of technical-material supply (the first requirement, moreover, for efficient production organization), and that has led to some defects in the regularity of the production process and in construction of some planned production capacities. Many enterprises still harbor an atmosphere of complacency, indiscipline and even disorder, and indifference to promotion of new technology and to good organization and management of economic activity.

Of course these shortcomings, which are due to subjective reasons and defects in the work of some party organizations and state organs, must be rapidly eliminated. And that requires a greater sense of responsibility for task fulfillment on the part of every state organ involved in economic activity, as well as a greater effort to improve general activity in accordance with the requirements of the national economy.

Internally the state also exercises a social function, a cultural-educational and ideological function, and those of defending the revolutionary gains, combatting antisocial phenomena and manifestations, and strengthening law and order. The party's and state's constant efforts to improve the quality of life, the entire people's material and cultural living standard etc. have led to the appearance of a new function, namely the social function. With a comprehensive content constantly improved and amplified by new features, this function is not only established by an analytical, theoretical procedure but is primarily the consequence of continuous and regular activities whereby the state contributes to the constant improvement of the human condition.

Thanks to the evolution of the nature of the state and of the content of its power (liquidation of the exploiting classes, gradual social leveling of society, etc.), there is no longer any function of class repression. To be sure antisocial acts are still committed, and laws are violated but it cannot be said that such acts against

law and order are committed from class positions or pursue clearly political purposes against the classes and social categories that hold and exercise power. Now the function of defending socialist gains and combatting antisocial phenomena (ultimately implemented by the method of constraint) is chiefly supported by the increasingly direct participation of the workers' collectives in accomplishing justice and in mobilizing public opinion to prevent antisocial acts, resolutely combat illegal acts, and drastically sanction violators of decisions and laws of the state and social order and discipline. It goes without saying that proper organization and maximum productivity of production activities and human relations require strict observance of the laws of the state and the principles and standards of socialist ethics and justice, but experience shows that some laws and decisions ratified by state organs or local state organs are ignored or even violated by some citizens who disregard elementary standards of discipline at work or in production with sometimes very serious consequences. The great social danger of such antisocial manifestations, many of which are committed out of carelessness, indiscretion or irresponsibility as to fulfillment of tasks and professional and civic obligations or as to management of the national wealth, entails a firm reaction from the state and public opinion and their repression accompanied by the demand for strengthened social control of observance of the laws and prevention of any acts to the detriment of the values protected by society.

On the cultural-educational and ideological levels the state has important functions for intensifying all citizens' socialist awareness and generalizing an increasingly advanced standard of culture and occupational and ideological training. The ideological aspect of this function reflects the party's ideological program, since the state is actually an instrument for implementing party policy.

The program for the nation's all-around development calls for Romania's participation in the international division of labor and the world circulation of values. Of course the international interdependences are contingent upon a climate of peace, security and cooperation among all states of the world. Through its external functions the Romanian socialist state plays an active part in the world arena, militating for ever closer collaboration of the peoples and against the policy of force, dictation and violation of any country's national freedom and independence. In this connection Romania attaches particular importance to consistent development of its relations with all socialist countries, to collaboration and solidarity among the countries building the new order, and to strengthened collaboration and cooperation with the developing countries and unaligned states. Meanwhile socialist Romania acts upon the principles of peaceful coexistence, developing relations with the developed capitalist countries and all states of the world regardless of social order. As Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "The present economic and financial crisis and international discord makes it more necessary than ever for us to intensify collaboration with all states of the world and to take steps to overcome the complex problems and resolve them in the spirit of respect for every nation's independence and interests, on behalf of peaceful collaboration that will provide for all peoples' socioeconomic progress."

#### Relationship Between Socialist Democracy and the State

In any order, the leading social class exercises its power through a system of particular organs and instruments and by ways and means in keeping with its historic role in society. Socialist democracy is based upon political power in the hands of the working class in alliance with the working peasantry, the intelligentsia and the

other categories of workers, all of whom are in the same position toward the national wealth. Those social relations provide for the workers' equality as to the production means and political power because every citizen is actually assured the right to participate in one way or another in management and in the solution of public problems in all fields of political, economic, social and cultural activity.

It is one of the basic principles of the Romanian socialist state to implement the party's political leadership on the basis of consistent involvement of the masses in making and implementing the decisions in all sectors of social activity. The party policy has always emphasized providing a background favorable to expression of the new and democratic character of the socialist state as the exponent of the people's power and the main means of regulating social relations and building socialism. The socialist state's role in uniform management of all socioeconomic activity is to be developed by its more and more complete integration in society and also by its natural involvement in the development and intensification of socialist democracy.

There is an organic correlation between democracy and the socialist state. The broad, all-inclusive character of workers socialist democracy as a system of social management on the one hand, and the popular, working-class nature of the power and practices of the socialist state on the other ensure the state's complete integration in socialist society and the increasingly broad and intensive involvement of party activity with state and public activity.

On the initiative of Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu an original system, the only one of its kind, has been created in Romania and a new and better form of social planning and management by the masses and the entire people.

In this process of building the socialist democratic system it has become not only possible but also necessary to correlate, combine and involve the state power with the other aspects of political and social power, finally ending the centuries-old alienation of the state and state power from society. Accordingly the exercise of power is no longer a sole attribute of the state, since other components of the system of social organization and management are involved in its mechanism. As part of this democratic system the socialist state is not incorporating or "liquidating" society but functions as a particular form of social power. The state power is subordinated to the people's interests in the service of society as a true people's power. The forums of democracy (institutionalized on the national level in the form of the congresses and their standing organs, sometimes with county affiliates) as well as the organs of workers' self-management in the economic units have considerably extended the workers' representation, participation and responsibility in the implementation of the domestic and foreign policies of the party and the Romanian socialist state.

The increasingly close involvement of the state organs' activity with that of the new democratic bodies facilitates the latter's takeover of some broad functions in efficient planning and management of socioeconomic activity without detracting from the state's important role in uniform management of socioeconomic activity as a whole. The workers' assumption, through the system of workers self-management and self-administration, of some important prerogatives in unit management in turn requires a climate of social discipline, observance of state laws and decisions, and good management of the national wealth. As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu said, we must bear in mind that in the present stage of construction of the fully developed socialist society it is an objective necessity of progress to base all activity

on the Uniform National Plan. And so the Romanian socialist state and its organs have highly important tasks in the uniform management of society as a whole, requiring firm measures to remedy the defects in planning and in organization and management of economic activity. We must establish order and discipline and heighten the sense of responsibility of the state organs in all fields of activity.

Integrating the state in society and involving party activity more and more closely with state and public activity to the improvement and intensification of socialist democracy are certain ways of eliminating the defects in the state organs' activity and enhancing their efficiency.

Combining party activity with state and public activity will bring about the masses' direct participation in adopting and implementing decisions and in strengthening the control of the working class and the masses over the state organs' entire activity in the process of building the fully developed socialist society.

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# EVOLUTION OF DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 3, 5 Feb 82 pp 27-29

Summary of a speech by Roman Moldovan, vice president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, "Evolution of the Social Structure," introducing the discussion "Evolution of the Demographic and Social Structure in Romania" by Prof Dr Ion Dragan, Dr Honorina Cazacu and Dr Oscar Hoffman of the Bucharest Sociological Research Center, whose comments will be published later<sup>7</sup>

Text The subject "Evolution of the Demographic and Social Structure in Romania" was discussed in the organizations of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy and the journal ERA SOCIALISTA. The introductory speech was delivered by Roman Moldovan, vice president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences. The participants examined the changes that have taken place in the social structure of Romanian society and in the system of social strata and classes during the growth of the working class and the assertion of its leadership in the process of building the fully developed socialist society. They also examined current theoretical and methodological problems in connection with the characteristics of social evolution and mobility and the criteria for defining the social categories and classes, as well as the nature and characteristics of the class contradictions in the new order, the directions in which the social categories and classes and the relations among them are evolving, and the requirements for the party's purposeful guidance and management of those processes.

We are publishing the introductory speech in abridged form, and the comments of the other participants in the discussion are to be published later.

As we know the party wants the social sciences to participate more directly and efficiently in the preparation of extensive theoretical surveys that will generalize Romanian experience, suggest alternative strategies, and explain the nature and value of Romania's experience with socialist construction.

Study of Romania's social and class structure is a major subject for sociologists and other specialists and personnel. The Sociological Research Center and other research units take a regular interest in this field. Problems like the structure and evolution of the changes in the working class in the years of socialist construction and revolution have been studied for many years, as well as the quantitative and qualitative changes in the structure of the working class under the influence of political, cultural and educational factors, evolution of the rural social structure, social

mobility and its forms and trends, evolution of social communities such as urban and rural ones and the family, particular effects of education and culture and the technical-scientific revolution upon the social and class structure, changes in social status and some social roles as indicators of changes in the class structure, characteristics of the new contradictions appearing in the course of changes in the social structure, characteristics of social leveling, etc. The efforts of the Sociological Research Center are still concentrated on this major problem, with special emphasis upon relationships between the technical-scientific revolution and the evolution of the working class, the transition to workers' self-management and its effect upon the social and class structure, changes in the ranks of the intelligentsia, present forms of social and class mobility, characteristics of reproduction of the various population categories in the present stage, etc. But we feel the social sciences in general and sociology in particular have made too little effort to forecast the theoretical and practical patterns to which the strategy for directing the changes in the national social structure conforms. Without further argument to show the importance of that procedure, we shall present a few opinions based on theoretical interpretation of a wealth of factual findings of many investigations made by the Bucharest Sociological Research Center.

The changes in the social structure are a component part of the changes that have taken place throughout socialist society, and their evolution can be analyzed only in the light of each socialist country's own policy and practice and its conditions, resources, options, aspirations, traditions and current experience. We used a model called "the model of possible alternatives with options for certain desirable and accessible values" for the sociological analysis of Romania's social activity and experience and of the strategy for changing the social structure. The social structure objectively requires many possible evolutionary trends. There is no single accessible way to the future. Of these alternatives the most desirable ones are selected that best suit our options. Of course the social range of possible and necessary actions is objectively determined by our situation, and the general laws governing social changes, and the basic aims of policy. The strategy is formed by selecting some of these general objective possibilities according to the promoted values and norms.

The model of possible alternatives according to values calls for analysis of the evolution of the social structure in the light of the purpose of the system and the "feed-back" operating between the societal macrosystem and the social structure. We must plan how we want the nation's new social structure to appear in the future and base the practical courses of action on that.

Discussion of the proposed model involves many practical problems such as the value criteria for evaluating the change in the social structure, the social mechanisms for blocking the undesirable alternatives and promoting (encouraging or even creating) the desirable ones, the alternative strategies for accomplishing the selected objective, the criteria for evaluating the desirable and accessible optimum, etc.

Since Romania has begun a new stage of development characterized by the increasingly pronounced predominance of the intensive, qualitative aspects, the significance of the transition of the changes in the social structure to the qualitative stage should be analyzed specifically. We think the transition to a new, qualitative stage in the evolution of the social structure means that in general the processes of growth of the social categories and classes are essentially finished as far as the socialist type of social structure is concerned. The proportions of the classes will not change significantly.\* This means that social mobility will no longer take the form

\*This point was disputed by other participants in the discussion. Their view will be presented in the next number of the journal.



primarily of passage from one class to another (class mobility between generations) but other forms requiring primary consideration such as mobility within the social categories and classes, mobility between generations, etc.

We consider it essential in this respect to use the theory and method of social and class self-reproduction. More and more emphasis will be placed on improving the present class structure in such respects as changes in the particular structure of each social category or class through improvement of training, social experience, relations among occupations, the nature of the labor demands (by increasing the cognitive demands at the expense of physical labor) etc., greater social cohesion among the social categories and classes, and improvement of each social category's performance (especially by consolidating self-management and social responsibility). Modification of the institutional system of Romanian society from the standpoint of transition to the qualitative stage of evolution of the social structure (greater role of the enterprises as a socializing factor, greater importance of social control through moral standards as opposed to legal ones, etc.) must be studied in greater depth.

The contradictions characteristic of the present stage of evolution of the class structure present a major problem. The quantitative processes of growth of the working class and some groups of the intelligentsia especially and of numerical decrease in other classes (the peasantry) have led to the formation of a class configuration limited to the respective stage. Transition to a new qualitative stage means resolving those contradictions and other new ones as well. Among the contradictions that must be resolved we note, for example, those between the new social status of the workers that have recently joined the working class and the latter's functional requirements (capacity for actual performance of the roles), between the objective situation and the maturity of the class consciousness, and between the labor demands and training. More attention should be given to the new contradictions resulting from the process of building the fully developed socialist society with a maximum effort to overcome Romania's situation as an economically developing country. In general we think the problem of social and class contradictions should be examined more carefully.

Historical experience tells us that the development of socialist society is not a linear process free of contradictions, difficulties, malfunctions, occasional social and political tensions, and complicated situations. If they are not promptly resolved, some of the contradictions that remain or appear under socialism (between the level and nature of the productive forces and some aspects or elements of economic relations, between the level of the productive forces and the economic, political and administrative forms and methods of organization and management, between the economic base and some aspects or features of the superstructure, and between social groups and classes) can become antagonistic and cause disturbances or even upheavals. Ignoring the fact that the law of unity and conflict of opposites is still operative (albeit in particular forms) in socialism is a nondialectical position with some of the most serious consequences for social development. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Experience and all social development show that even in the period of socialist construction some contradictions still persist or contradictions can still arise that may take serious forms and lead to serious social disturbances if they are not understood and no action is taken to eliminate them. As long as social categories and classes with interests of their own exist, even if they are not antagonistic, there will be major or minor contradictions that can be complicated if they are neglected." Of course the conflict between the old and the new is and will remain a dialectical regularity of development of the new social order.

The conceptual system of analysis and the factors for change in the social structure have been subjects of some of our studies, and the new problems also required a suitable conceptual system. For this purpose we recommend a system composed of four conceptual "blocs": (1) the basic concepts (social subsystem and its structure); (2) the concepts concerning the evolution of the social structure (social destructuring and restructuring, social and occupational mobility, successive studies of the structure, molds of the structure, models of the stages, social framework and mechanism, class status, congruence and incongruence of status, social adjustment and integration, reconversion of status, and social transition); (3) concepts of the current processes in the social structure (social leveling between and within communities and the subordinate concepts, social differentiation and diversification, mechanisms and factors in the evolution of the social structure, contradictions and regularities of social leveling and the processes subordinate to it, social self-reproduction, circulation in the social framework, etc.) and (4) concepts concerning future trends in the social structure (a single working people, a uniform society etc. We suggest that the Academy of Social and Political Sciences arrange an interdisciplinary methodological discussion of the conceptual systems and the indicators for analyzing the class structure in Romania. The predominance of qualitative changes in the social evolution calls for enhancement of the conceptual and methodological system used in research and in making forecasts.

From the standpoint of the problem under analysis, the present stage of Romania's development is characterized by the interaction of different social and historical significance. Yet there is a discrepancy in the action of some factors such as, for example, the overlapping of the current technical-scientific revolution with other factors pertaining to different historical periods: Industrialization began about two centuries earlier in the economically advanced countries, and urbanization was a direct result of industrialization in those countries. The overlapping of those factors of different historical significance combines some effects in a single result that frequently does not occur in their separate operation and annihilates even the favorable potentials of some while aggravating the bad effects of others. The interaction of these factors creates some particular difficulties and contradictions that have not been adequately analyzed (Some persons' direct shift from villages to an advanced industrial environment of automation and the lack of any preliminary socialization in the industrial environment of the mechanization stage create difficulties in adjustment and integration in the new industrial environment of automation, and due to the technological gap between agriculture and industry the flow of social mobility from village to city causes great difficulties in social integration).

The qualitative, social-political and social-psychological factors changing the social structure (participation in management, the technical-scientific revolution, development of socialist social awareness, and basing all social relations on the principles of socialist ethics and justice). A growing importance of superstructural factors (social awareness, the system of aspirations, motivations, standards and values, and social feelings) and of those concerning human relations calls for a reorientation of research toward the less studied fields such as way of life, social awareness, system of standards and human relations. Analysis of the evolution of the classes must be supplemented with new dimensions requiring a broader view of classes seen as communities of experience with cultural models of their own, life styles, a particular psychology etc. The vast problems of self-management from the standpoint of class structure require more attention in this connection. The leadership of the working class is the result of a long and complex historical process. An individual's membership in the working class does not automatically fit him to perform the

series of roles required to exercise the function of social management. The qualitative changes the working class and the other categories are undergoing directly affect their members' ability to participate effectively in management functions.

A system of institutions has been created in Romania that will not only permit but also encourage and demand the masses' extensive participation in the management of all levels of society. This system does not function independently. Our studies proved that the changes that have taken place in the social classes in the way of improvement of class relations and the particular structure of each class directly affect the operation of the institutional system of self-participation. A hypothesis we formulated mentions that as the activity performed by workers demands more cognitive intellectual aptitudes (demand for thought, ability to evaluate the work situation and make decisions, etc.) there is a greater availability for participation in management and mastery of social-public roles. This hypothesis received a first verification in the studies made, and our studies also threw a new light upon the relationship between the occupational and participative roles.

Many problems still require more careful and detailed analysis. One of them is social leveling as a regular feature of the evolution of the social structure. We are stressing a few points in connection with the nature and scope of leveling, its stages, its characteristics as a macrosocial process, and its direct and indirect functions. Leveling does not cover in its scope all the existing differences in society. The homogeneous communist society will not be (nor can it be) an amorphous state of undifferentiated individuals. Some differences cannot be eliminated (the natural ones depending on age, individual ability, geographic features etc.) while others should not be. The scope of social leveling includes only the social differences among human groups that involve social inequalities and essential social differences. Social leveling is no end in itself but an essential factor in promoting the basic aim of party and state policy, namely the achievement of a socialist and communist civilization of free and fully developed people with individualities of their own.

To that end we recommend taking into consideration (a) the direct functions of leveling, namely elimination of all social inequalities and the essential social differences among the various human groups, gradual achievement of equality of the socialist type and later the communist type, creation of a new institutional system based upon the eventual disappearance of the state, the party and the other institutions dependent upon the existence of the classes, and formation of a new social structure (expressed by the concept of "a single working people") and (b) the indirect functions of leveling, expressing the very purpose of achieving its direct functions (creating conditions for the free and all-around development and fulfillment of the individual, encouragement of creative participation in social management, free choice of an occupation and consequent development of creative work, provision for better living conditions with resulting encouragement of creativeness in the field of cultural values, formation of alternative life styles, and provision for a new kind of human satisfaction).

As social leveling advances it permits a new kind of social diversification. Disappearance of the differences created by the stratified class structure encourages the appearance of new kinds of social diversification and differentiation as to occupations, aspirations and preferences, use of spare time, social-public activities, living conditions, and opportunities for development. We feel the constructive social function of social diversification has been underrated at times, as well as its role in promoting progress and encouraging activity. Among the functions of

diversification we note implementation of the socialist principle of social (not economic alone) distribution of compensation according to merit (socialist justice), assurance of living conditions in keeping with the individuals' abilities and aspirations, performance of a variety of activities to meet a variety of social (direct) needs, stimulation of interest through compensation according to work, satisfaction from social recognition of merits and abilities, encouragement of creative public activity, and practical demonstration of the superiority of the socialist way of life permitting development of individual personalities.

Achievement of a functionally optimal social differentiation is a problem of major practical importance. Social imbalances in either direction (overemphasis or underemphasis) can cause dissatisfaction and aggravate social contradictions. Analysis of the specific relations in the system of social differentiations has been neglected by the sociologists (and not by them alone).

The dynamic balance between leveling and differentiation tends to strengthen social cohesion. We do not think the differentiation according to strata within each social category and the effects of that differentiation upon social activism have been sufficiently investigated. The social classes have been studied as relatively distinct (homogenous) units in their mutual relations rather than as units with intensive internal differentiations. For example some subgroups have not been analyzed realistically enough, especially those characterized by mixed status (peasants and workers) or some service sectors (trade, artisan cooperatives, health) wherein social distortions of the correct ratios between incomes and training, work and incomes, work and actual contributions etc. can (and do) appear. Those distortions can aggravate some contradictions or generate new ones. More emphasis should be placed on the relationship between the social structure and the regulatory structure of society, the processes associated with the contradictions and difficulties characteristic of the evolution of social awareness, and the particular relationships between the class situation and class awareness and between membership in a class and participation in the alternative life styles of that class.

We feel more emphasis should also be placed, in analysis of the evolution of the social structure, on the stratification of incomes, trends in the evolution of consumption, both the material and the social-psychological aspects of those social processes, and particularly the structure of the rural population and especially the agricultural one (a distorted pyramid according to age groups of that population and an imbalance in the structure according to sexes). Moreover the irreducible potentials of the rural environment have been underrated, making for mechanical imitation of the models of urban life in the villages regardless of the fact that the agrarian structures must be further consolidated and diversified on the basis of what modern science and technology have to offer and also in keeping with the constructive traditions and current necessities.

We also note that little consideration has been given to the findings of some valuable studies in rural and agrarian sociology revealing and evaluating the phenomena a aging and feminization of the agricultural labor force. Processes like the technical-scientific revolution and the development of education, science and culture accentuate the differentiation and diversification of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. How far is this diversification not only correct but also desirable? At what pace and on what basis should action be taken to reduce some differences. What kinds of differences are characteristic of a given stage? How can the differentiations be directed to obtain the functional optimum of society to the people's better satisfaction? Those questions require intensive theoretical and specific studies.



The effectiveness of a "subject" analysis of the evolution of the class structure is also demonstrated by the capacity of the theory to formulate conclusions fit to be implemented in social activity. I should like to make a few points in this connection.

In the present stage one can speak of the the "new wave" of workers as distinguished from the "old" one that had to be recruited from the peasantry. The "new wave" brings its members into the working class directly from their school desks, and they are becoming the chief source for recruitment of new workers. This new situation has not been analyzed with the necessary maximum of realism. On the one hand, it must be determined how far these workers, still without social experience, with a class awareness just beginning to form, and even with a limited experience with life, are meeting the heavy demands of participation in performance of the functions of the working class. On the other hand, it must also be determined whether the jobs entirely correspond to this new situation: People with superior training and a high standard of aspirations and motivations expect far more, professionally and institutionally, from jobs, from job relations and from their immediate supervisors.

The new conditions are making a qualitative change in the purpose of the workers' occupational training in accordance with the demands of the new technological environment created by information technology and requiring a high type of professional thinking as well as a sound scholastic preparation. The importance is even more striking of the efforts to establish a new kind of contact between schools and enterprises that will permit integration in work and socialization in the new social-cultural environment created by electronic automation to begin during the period of schooling.

Qualitative changes are being made in the so-called "services sector." In the first place it cannot be analyzed en bloc (the third sector) any longer but evolves differently according to the historical perspectives and social functions of its components. A new classification into the third, fourth and fifth sectors is increasingly justified.

The growing development of the services sector associated with production, processing, dissemination and implementation of knowledge is becoming increasingly characteristic of the new economic structure, making it necessary to shift those services to the category of productive activities. In correlation with this revision, the position and function of the social sciences in the evolution of the social structure must be reconsidered, since they are expected to become a main force for social progress, the institutions for spending spare time must be developed as well as the leisure industries, some social functions connected with organization of spare time must be progressively taken over by enterprises, etc. A new function of education is emerging in the form of training people to make creative and cultural-social use of their leisure time.

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# ROLE OF LITERATURE IN EXPRESSING SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 3, 5 Feb 82 pp 30-32

[Article by Francisc Pacurariu: "The Literary Work As an Expression of Social Commitment"]

[Text] The discussions of the theoretical problems of literature are becoming increasingly extensive and profound. One of the major gains of these discussions is consideration of the literary work in its organic unity as the result of a particular process of knowledge implemented by means of true artistic expression.

It has also become quite clear in our time that literature and art are not mere kaleidoscopes of exotic reactions to the stimuli of reality nor expressions of a sensory knowledge of a primitive kind, but embodiments of a whole mode of knowledge. As austere a physicist as Heisenberg declared quite rightly that "While science explains something and makes it intelligible, art should represent, illuminate and clarify the basis of human life." In supplementing an increasingly abstract representation of the mathematical type that science obtains by deciphering some minute systems of the physical and chemical processes of reality, art and literature humanize that reality, bring out its complicated connections with man's life, and accordingly provide an optimistic, encouraging view of man's mission and position in the infinite universe.

By the very nature of his activity the writer concentrates on observing, studying, understanding and interpreting the period in which he lives or at least the human reality that it generates.

The Danish philosopher Piet Hein, who is proud of being a specialist in theoretical physics as well, expressed the opinion in a prestigious UNESCO journal that "Art (including literature) is the function of self-expression, while science and technology, the creators of the bases of our present world, are human activities with important results to express. In other words... the one is capable of expressing itself but has nothing to say, while the other has something to say but does not know how to express itself."

The dissociation is spiritual but insecure because literature (and art in general) is not only a result of expression but also a way of constructing images or models of reality and discovering or creating intelligible, coherent and significant patterns



of it. David Dickson, an English mathematician interested in relations between art and science, proposed a much more convincing formula to the effect that while "science is an internal, abstract arrangement of phenomena viewed from outside, art has a supplementary role, providing the external and concrete arrangement of the phenomena viewed from within, that is subjectively."

The metamorphoses of literature in our era were sometimes seen as ultimately expressing a reduction of the literary work to a verbal structure, to a semantic system with a purely linguistic reality and no perception of the area of meanings of another kind.

Actually the true writers have never been more convinced than they are in these years of their mission of writing poetry, novels or plays while trying to discover (with brilliant successes or tragic failures) the forms that can best embody in a convincing and discriminating way the complicated meanings, often unclear and difficult to formulate, of the whole mass of subjects, motives, ideas and intuitions that they feel pulsing within them, which are the most telling and important results of their epistemological procedure.

It has sometimes been considered difficult to speak of an epistemological procedure or an effort to know when art and literature exist mainly on the level of a sensory perception of reality, relying more upon the confused voices of intuition than upon the clear play of the concepts of reason. But knowledge is actually acquired by a dialectical process combining in a contradictory unity sensory and rational knowledge, empirical and theoretical perception of reality and its fixation in images or concepts, evidencing a complicated and very contradictory dynamism, and accordingly reflecting the very dynamism and contradictory nature of reality.

Both science and art proceed from the basic theoretical assumption that nature itself is ordered and that this order can be revealed, formulated and transmitted by an appropriate coding system, since it is an essential mission of knowledge to discover the right code for a given situation or a particular experience. Like the scientist, the writer tries to discover the right code to decipher the material resulting from his explorations, abstracting from it the aspects he needs in order to translate his formal interpretation into an intelligible, aesthetically valid language. Therefore it is quite natural that for the epistemology of today science and art supplement each other in the common process of creating order in our experience of nature, society or subjective reality. Man's demiurgic effort to attach human significance to reality, to construct a humanized model of reality and to create a convincing image of a world for men has been transmitted chiefly through philosophy and art.

The inner nucleus from which the power of suggestion of artistic construction emanates and which sets the main directions of crystallization of that construction chiefly consists of such an act of knowledge. The difference between the artistic models constructed upon the relationship between subject and object and between man, existence and reality by poetry and by prose lies mainly in the fact that prose conveys the subject's perception of the connections (hitherto unclear) existing in objective reality, in the world and in others, while lyric poetry plumbs the wealth of the subject's reactions in relation to his own reality or the surrounding reality.

It is on this level that the author's view of man and existence, which is the very nucleus of the most profound suggestions of the work, takes shape and artistic form. This view (being only implicit in the authentic works, without explicit didactic

formulas) expresses the author's profound conception, which is close to the philosophical one but expressed in artistic images and in "tangible matter," as Maiorescu said, and not in concepts. It is this intuitive-rational view, embodying the most important results themselves of the particular artistic knowledge, that constitutes the ideological perspective of the work and gives utterance, in other words, to an essentially optimistic conception of man and his creative, Promethean mission in the world (found in all the great works of Romanian literature) or, on the contrary, to a pessimistic view of the aimlessness of existence. In our era this difference in views has received a highly significant emphasis, since one can speak of a literature of uncertainty of knowledge and existence, of dissolution of the personality, and of disappearance of personages into a strange fog concealing the significance of attitudes and facts, and a literature of man's greatness and his difficult and complicated struggle to rise to the "rule of freedom" and full assumption of his creative role, a mode illustrated by the best works of current Romanian literature.

Clearly the novel has much less effective means of investigating social phenomena and aspects than sociology has. A documentary film that is well made (and not cast in the prefabricated molds of an antiquated idyllism) will present the work of a factory or a farm more convincingly than the longest novel. Man's emotions and the obscure underlying processes or those generating options are revealed by modern psychology or neuropsychiatry with more adequate means than those available to the novelist. But all those disciplines together cannot perceive the living human reality in its entirety and in its many shifts and relationships. Therefore the novel cannot attain true effectiveness unless it remains on its particular level, trying to perfect its ability to present the truth of some lives by a suitable play of viewpoints, temporal levels, intersections of sequences and methods of reporting and by a difficult effort to construct a distinctive reality out of the acquired elements by the sole medium of communication available to it, namely the word, and trying to bring to expression the image of our era in constructions apparently focused upon individual cases and upon experiences of heroes with naturally limited possibilities of knowing the many faces of times extremely rich in new processes and phenomena and in significant human problems and experiences but actually capable of suggesting, by the very power of their artistic radiation, a feeling of totality of life, that is a message that is at once aesthetic, ontological, ethical, educational and political, and consequently integrated in an extremely effective area of great human experiences.

In supplementing science literature performs as it were an epistemological role of arranging specific and subjective configurations of reality in forms and significant aesthetic structures. As it has often been pointed out, art at least has the power to enrich sensibility and thought by suggesting a certain view of man and the universe to them and to broaden and intensify emotional perception. Furthermore, the writer selects the significant aspects for his work by a complex process of abstraction and generalization after a close and complicated exploration of reality and embodies in the organic unity of a formal structure, guided not only by his creative instinct but also by his view of the world and man. His basic objective, most often pursued unconsciously but with the certainty with which cranes find the nest in spring that they left in fall, is to create a partial image of life, of a fragment of life that can suggest the feeling of the totality of life.

The truly great creations have this capacity, difficult to analyze, of making a fragment of existence suggest the totality of life and the profound movement of its essential meanings. It is in this ability to transform the fragmentary and the relative into totality that the mystery of the great creation lies, just as the intensity

of the effort required to start it explains its difficulties. The difficulty is probably aggravated by the complexity of the mass of problems, realities, ideas and subjects offered by our era, when mankind is at a crossroads (to employ the title of a report on the future with a wide response in public opinion), since the complex processes themselves of the growing development of human activity (sometimes thrown off balance by the harmful trends originating in the nature of imperialism or in the inequitable relations established between the economically developed countries and the developing ones) have created a huge knot of difficult problems. They range from the declining reserves of raw materials and energy sources and the problems of demography, food production and pollution to the terrible dangers caused by armament and accumulation of huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons capable of throwing our planet into a fantastic cataclysm.

Unquestionably the world of today is accumulating a mass, unprecedented in history, of creative energy and destructive forces, of unrest and hopes, of amazing possibilities for progress and for terrible disasters, and of evolutionary processes and backward trends. And thanks to the important development of the contemporary feeling that history is not a senseless play of unknown forces but a result of human efforts, as well as the information explosion that constantly presents us with the implacable interdependence of contemporary phenomena, these realities no longer concern only a limited group of "elite beings" but affect the lives of individuals as well as the daily concerns and future plans of hundreds of millions of peoples. The "rebellion of the masses" considered by Ortega y Gasset a few decades ago to be an alarming penetration of politics, social conflicts and cultural affairs by the mass-man (that is an average man considered devoid of individuality and capacity for personal option) actually led to a historically unprecedented development of the sense of responsibility for mankind's fate, for the modern world's problems, and for progress to the future.

This is apparent in any corner of the world, and the phenomenon has a particular power to gain ground in the countries integrated in the process of rational and purposeful construction of the future.

This reality is expressed in modern literature by a vigorous and healthy return to human truth and to the actively involved consciousness of the writer who wants to write works illuminated by the brilliance of major creation flowing from a profound, comprehensive and enterprising knowledge of the realities of the time wherein we live, work and dream and who realizes that tepid, rose-colored and superficial works have never succeeded in expressing moving truths capable of stirring and elevating the consciousness.

It can only be fertile on the creative level for the writer and artist to try to perceive the relation between man as subject and the surrounding objective reality and to understand the "mechanism" of the mutual transformation of reality and man through his Promethean ability not only to adjust to nature and the social environment but also to act in order to mold and change them.

Accordingly the reality that literature presents is not static and fixed but full of motion, dynamism, clashes between various human tendencies (caused by psychic conflicts or attractions, by real or imagined conflicts of interests and different degrees of awareness, and by innumerable other problems posed by people's existence in society) and changes in environment, society and human relations due to the great changes made by the practical consequences of the technical-scientific revolution,

by the shifting social structures, by the rapid process of industrialization in many countries, by urbanization and by change in people's way of life and work and their whole life style. Meanwhile, as he perceives the definitive processes and real problems of life, in which he participates, and the nature of the necessary changes and the difficulties that can arise in the course of them, the writer is not only a receiver (even though this receiver is considered active and capable of shaping the received material) but is also changed himself by the influence of the whole course of realities integrated and processed in his consciousness before he objectivizes them in artistic expression, just as he exerts, through his creativeness, an active influence upon the consciousness and consequently upon the reality reflected in its true evolution.

When the writer concentrates on the essential purpose of his creative activity he participates in a live and dynamic process of changing the world, life and people not only in the sense that in writing a work characterized by the whole complicated truth of life he exerts an influence on the consciousness that receives it, but also in the concrete sense of a creative contribution to modification of reality.

Hence the writer's heavy responsibility when he seeks the echo of an era in the consciousness of the people who are building it and artistically expresses the human aspects and ontological realities of the historical process of changing the real but also those of the contradictions that arise within it and characteristics of the possible discrepancies between society's plans and their so ramified and complicated practical implementation.

If he is to be able to comprise and embody, in works sustained by truth, the human realities and the shifts in the very structure of society, with important consequences for people's way of life and the relations among them, as well as the changes that take place in the consciousness, the changed attitude toward work and the product of personal activity, the growth and development of the people capable of controlling and directing the whole vast process of society or a sector of it, and the possible temporary discrepancies, the writer must be imbued with a great sense of responsibility and an equally great capacity for honest, creative and free thought.

To properly perform the important role art and literature should have as "mental productive forces" in accomplishing the great goals set by Romanian society, it is urgently necessary to renounce any tendency toward perfunctory routine and false idealizing. The writer must assume his serious responsibilities in interpretation of the evolution of reality and in knowledge of the problems presented by that evolution in the real daily life of the people who are accomplishing it by their creative work. Success depends upon comprehension of the social phenomena in the close connection and mutual influence between the component elements of the vast effort of social construction.

In its most profound sense literature is an act of restoration of the unity between man as a concrete, existing being and the world and between "the one" and "the other" by revealing the true, undisguised reality to people, the lines of force that unite them with the world, the ways in which they weaken or acquire additional strength, and the existential experiences or shocks that can drive a man to alienation or solitude or, on the contrary, can transform the solitary man into a solidary one (as Camus said). The statement refers especially to a novel, "that activity of the mind that has never separated the inseparable" and can shape the true unity of the real,



"neither the pure objectivity of science nor the pure subjectivity of the first lyric revolt, but the reality seen through an ego, a synthesis between ego and the world, between unconsciousness and consciousness, between sensibility and intellect" (Ernesto Sabato).

In all the great works with which it has enriched life, literature has implemented mankind's thought and sensibility and its aspiration to contribute to the effort "to envisage the greatness of the human being and to understand the historical development of the species, its unchecked progress, its always certain victory over the unreason of the isolated individual, its mastery of all that seems superhuman, and its hard but successful struggle with nature until it ultimately acquires free, human self-awareness, until it clearly understands the unity between man and nature, and until it creates, freely and by its own activity, a new world based upon purely human life relations...." (Engels).

This effort is one of the most difficult ones undertaken by the human mind, since it cannot be advanced except in a particular socioeconomic context and therefore in a certain stage of man's self-improvement through work and of his difficult ascent, full of obstacles but unflagging, toward the total man by partially and fragmentarily anticipating his traits, qualities, attitudes and consciousness.

Comprehension and true and convincing artistic embodiment of this "real movement" in living personages and events require in every period of history (which is itself "the existence of living individuals," as Marx and Engels said) methods and instruments for exploration that are constantly new and suited to the investigated material and to the potential for artistic expression and aesthetic construction necessary to transform it convincingly (or, more accurately, to convey it with the means characteristic of aesthetic expression) and consequently in a way that can maintain or ensure its reality.

Use of bold, innovating forms of expression opening up broader horizons and capable of suggesting the problems of this complex area and the versatile man of these times is an objective necessity for fulfillment of literature's major role in the series of efforts of all Romanian society to rise to a new quality of life and its activities.

Accordingly the basic requirement for the rise of Romanian literature to a new qualitative level of fulfillment of its mission is directly dependent upon the difficult, courageous effort to interpret the real problems of the society and people of today, with their customs and psychology, and the ability to express them in new, original and authentic aesthetic constructions that are suited to their nature and complexity and can embody them without interference (resulting from the form of expression itself) with their natural, authentic pulsation wherein their very truth resides.

The most lasting triumphs of current Romanian literature are embodied in the works of great substance and fine tone that reveal the real, organic and natural receptiveness of contemporary man's existence to the past and future, that is to the entirety of historically crystallized human problems basic to the present reality, and to the horizon of the future as we perceive it from the crossroads where mankind stands. The human authenticity of life presented by the literary work is not achieved by designating strange human geographies but only by accepting man's real position at present, at the intersection between the past, which has presented us with a given series of problems, the present, which is shaping us with its rhythms (with the changes made in contemporary man's condition, in his existential problems, in his way of

living, knowing reality, and understanding the world and its complex interdependences, and in his particular reactions to the pulsation of the eternal passions and to the pressure of the new dreams, anxieties and ideals), and the future, which is revealed to us with increasing clarity and is taking more and more intelligible form.

It is this perception of the real dimensions of the present that makes it possible to construct artistic models of reality (models in the current scientific sense) that can suggest the entirety of life.

This range of ideas also includes the problem of the extra-aesthetic, educational, ethical and political values of literature and especially of the novel. The relation between the autonomy and the heteromania of art was basic to an old dispute whose development illustrates the fundamental aspect itself of the evolution of modern Romanian literary criticism. From this standpoint Tudor Vianu was unquestionably justified in saying in his "Aesthetics" that "The gradual differentiation of the social content made art a separate activity that can be supported by heteronomous factors of social experience but is no longer identified with them." The extra-aesthetic values lend no value to a work of art, and the most laudable ethical, political or educational intentions will never succeed in transforming a work that is meritorious in those respects into a work of art unless it is achieved on aesthetic grounds. There is no question that the content of subjects and ideas (the "signified," to employ a term very frequently used in modern poetics) qualifies as a work of art only by virtue of an artistic conception and an aesthetic expression (whether we call it "signifying" to use Barthes' term, or whether we retain the traditional term of the old poetics, "artistic form").

But it is equally true that a purely formal experiment, devoid of substantive significance and the content of information, subjects and ideas that compose it, does not qualify as an aesthetic value and is only a mere intention foreign to the realm of the aesthetic. The two terms for the heterogeneous structure which is the work of art, the signified and the signifying, content and form, or substance and expression, form an inseparable unity generated by the very process of giving birth to the work and consubstantial with the movement toward a work. The truth of this idea, basic to any modern poetics or aesthetics, could be demonstrated both by the failures of some attempts to pass off as "works of art" laudable efforts to expound ideas of ethical, political or religious propaganda without any creative spirit or art, and by the futile and terrible experiments in presenting unconvincing and quite ephemeral exercises in formal construction in a vacuum as supreme modes of art.

As a uniform system composed of a heterogeneous content of subjects, information and ideas and aesthetically realized by means of a verbal discourse capable of exploiting it significantly, the literary work performs far-reaching social functions.

The very serious undertaking of such a mission means joining the living, constantly renewed and refreshed stream of the most noble traditions of Romanian literature, which from Miron Costin and Neculce to Rebreanu, Sadoveanu, Camil Petrescu or Arghezi has known no higher aim than to militate passionately for improvement of society and man by the only particular means with which art can fruitfully fulfill that mission, that is by creating aesthetic structures that can elevate a fragmentary, relative image of reality to the radiance that transfigures it to a vision of the totality of life and an expression of its essential truths.



A major literature in this land of the Carpathians and the Danube, that is a literature expressing the fundamental aims and missions of our existence in history and our capacity for projecting our essential problems on the mythological level, can feed only upon the most profound, far-reaching and pressing realities of life and of the Romanian spirit of today. In other words, it should mean a basic harmony with the essential reality of the time in which we live, the time in which (by progressive processes and also by upheavals, unrest and restructuring of a patriarchal way of life with many picturesque, archaic features and others of Balkan backwardness) a new way of life for this people is being born, for the time being in full genesis with many puzzles but with the promise of future fulfillment. The traits of this new character are not to be explained by the policies of Burebista's Dacians nor by those of the priest of Miorita, although it will undoubtedly bear their stamp and memory, ennobled by the ideals of new times and the enhancing perspective of history. They can be interpreted solely in the light of the real life of this time and its people, the life of the plants, the fields, the big worksites, the laboratories and research institutes, and the active centers of Romanian society, by discovering in real people and in their actual life with its lights and shades and its joys and tragedies the characteristic features of our time and its phenomena, human relations and reactions out of which, by complicated processes, a new kind of existence is being devised and a new way of thinking and expressing the relationship between the individual and society and between man and the time in which he lives and the history in which he is or is not integrated.

Of course this broad and enterprising survey also requires, as a necessity, a critical view of the destructive phenomena, of the harmful tendencies aroused in some just by their new position in the world or nostalgia for vanished situations, of the obsolete or even monstrous forms of the relations between some people and the power entrusted them, of the contradiction between the humanist phraseology used by others and the selfish ends they pursue, and of the present forms of corruption and inhumanity.

The writer's true, sincere and creative harmony with Romanian society and with the present and future of this people and this land, in other words improvement of his activity to meet the demands of the present stage of development and maturity, calls for an outlook envisaging the real, vital stuff of actual lives inspired by the aspiration to truth, to justice, to the beautiful, that is the sincere, simple and natural, and to human greatness.

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YOUTH PUBLICATIONS DESCRIBE CONDITIONS IN PRISTINA

Secondary Schoolers in Forefront

Belgrade OMLADINSKE in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Natasa Markovic: "Life With the Irredentists"]

[Text] Will the tragic Kosovo spring be repeated?

Judging by what happened on 11 and 12 March in Pristina, Podujevo, Suva Reka and Vucitrn on the anniversary of the first counterrevolutionary demonstrations, the irredentists are longing for that.

Although the enemy announced this year's demonstrations with rumors circulating through the marketplace, though he even ordered that children not be sent to elementary school, the official reports were to the contrary.

Officials in Pristina assured us that "they held the political situation firmly in their own hands, that they had driven the enemy onto the defensive and into a corner, after a number of their leaders had been arrested and following the unceasing sociopolitical effort last year." It was their assessment that the enemy was unable to raise up his head that far, that he would not dare to celebrate his destructive anniversary in any manner whatsoever.

Similar assurances were also uttered by the Kosovo leaders to Sergej Krajger and Dobrosav Vidic last week. Petar Kostic went a bit further in his optimistic assessments in stating to newsmen in an interview that the demonstrators would not dare to go out into the streets, that they would not dare repeat the Kosovo spring, and if it did happen--they (the provincial leaders) should not only be replaced, but also arrested!?

Events have refuted him.

We are convinced that no one in his right mind and with a feel for political reality will call upon Petar Kostic to keep his promise and submit his resignation, "only" because the most recent unpleasant events caused by a "handful" of demonstrators surprised him. But a very essential question is whether Petar Kostic, as has been suggested to him these past several days, will issue an official denial and thus push yet another stone of distrust on

those who practice the newsman's profession. When it comes to reporting from Kosovo, there has been plenty over the last year.

For all the risk of being biased, the author of this article feels it would take flagrant irresponsibility concerning public expression to invent such a striking and explicit statement as the one attributed to Petar Kostic. We doubt that newsmen who have proven over many years that they are protectors of their professional integrity would allow themselves that luxury of irresponsibility. Insistence on that fact in this article may well seem to someone like an excessive defense of one's profession. However, this is just one tiny detail about how schizophrenic pictures are still being created concerning the political situation in Kosovo. Usually their images do not coincide in the political mirror.

The assessments arriving from the province are much rosier than those coming from other information centers or from other republics, though, of course, not all. The political ball, like the cuckoo egg, is not uncommonly passed on to the newsmen; and a search is made for their malicious intentions. This is also confirmed by the most recent statements from Kosovo; once again the newsmen have been accused, when they made rough estimates of the number of participants in the most recent demonstrations, of having seen more of them than there actually were and of thus having played into the hands of the enemy!?

#### The Conflict Has Been Shifted

We hope that the time to come will be an unbiased judge. The nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia, at least so they demonstrated after the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, have enough political patience to have waited a year for differentiation between party members and other citizens. No one wants to resolve anything with harsh methods, but it would be risky to tolerate any cover-up of what is happening in Kosovo. It would be dangerous for any of us in any part of the country not to understand our own historic responsibility for suppressing the enemy in Kosovo. This is not a local wound, but a wound of Yugoslav society that has its teeth in the country's security. Every attempt of the bureaucracy to reach a settlement with the local bureaucracy, after the old practice "each in his own house" would this time cause inestimable consequences. Certainly we do not mean by this to dispute that the greatest responsibility for the situation in the province has to be borne by the party members and working people within it.

It is no wonder, then, that the delegates of the Serbian Assembly talked in their last session last week, for the first time in 15 years, about the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and put questions which were not exactly pleasant. Asserting that the situation in Kosovo is a more difficult problem than either stabilization or the balance of payments, Srboljub Kostic, a delegate in the Chamber of Associated Labor, asked why a policy of procrastination was being tolerated, Nikola Jankovic noted that "it seems we are courting the counterrevolution but we ought to say more clearly that everything that has happened is a consequence of a poorly conducted policy." And then, what is meant by the most recent declarations of the Kosovo leadership that the "situation is complicated," is this an indication of our inability to defeat the enemy.

Will the enemy be strong enough to shatter this at present distorted political mirror? Time will tell. We therefore feel that it is an important, but not essential question whether the newsmen who have been reporting from the scene overlooked 100 demonstrators. The essential thing, in the judgment of the author of this article, who saw this year's demonstrations in Pristina, is that the demonstrators did dare to come out into the streets in spite of the enormous number of members of the state security service and the army, which was also on the alert, all of which indicates that the enemy is not shrinking from his dirty warfare and intention, that he has proclaimed himself to be alive, seeking new support from the people, the working class and youth. It is also essential that the demonstrators did not manage to win over the workers or any sizable number of university and secondary students to join them! Nor, however, should we overlook that they did manage, with demonstrations that were more peaceful than brutal, to cast still another "explosive charge" of unrest and uncertainty on the part of the population. To give them the message that at least for now life with the irredentists must be taken for granted in Kosovo!

#### A Night of Suspense

We rightly declared the evening of 10 March and the morning of 11 March to be a time of suspense. Many citizens were wondering and guessing whether the irredentists and Albanian chauvinists would come out into the streets. We received contradictory reports. Pristina on those days recalled a captured city, there was a police patrol at every 50 meters. Everything appeared to be peaceful.

Just after 0900 hours on 11 March the students began to gather on the hill around the dormitories. About 500 of them set out for the city, shouting the well-known slogans from last year's demonstrations--"Kosovo a Republic," "Long Live Enver Hoxha," "Unity," and others. Quite a few students were also in front of the entrance to the nearby student dining hall, and without guessing how many there were, there were certainly more than 100. Strong police security had been set up around that entire area. The guardians of law and order did not intervene. Policemen did move toward them without intervening, and this group of demonstrators began to withdraw without resistance along Istarska Street toward the settlement called Muhadzer Mahala.

Around noontime heaps of leaflets were thrown from two FIAT cars at an overpass in another part of Pristina. When we stopped the car in order to see what the leaflets said, we saw that they were false. These were pieces of white paper, format A-4, which were blowing along the road. At noontime the center of the city was overflowing with secondary school children, who were taking part in the corso in an almost holiday disposition in groups of as many as 50 each. Ten minutes later two groups of secondary school children, each numbering several hundred, joined in regular ranks of three in front of the building of the Kosovo Provincial Assembly, shouting slogans. Someone threw a pebble at members of the police. By accident or intention, they intervened with tear gas. Force was not used at any point. We later learned that even the tear gas was unplanned.

The news of these events spread quickly through the city. Parents were mainly rushing excitedly to the schools to pick up their children; all the schools had been let out around noontime. Certain workers who had attempted to leave their factories were prevented from doing so. In certain work organizations the workers were collectively driven home at the end of the shift. Many private stores did not open. It was noted that the stores, otherwise well-stocked, had a poor assortment that day. About noontime all the telephone lines went dead, we were told in the Grand Hotel that there was "interference in the lines" at precisely that time, that not a single number outside Pristina could be reached, and it was difficult even in the city itself.

In the evening several thousand secondary school and university students walked in the corso of Pristina in straight and orderly rows, wearing black and red scarves around their neck and badges bearing the image of Enver Hoxha on their windbreakers. Though the corso was already overflowing at about 1800 hours, the security forces on duty told the participants to disperse. However, the Pristina promenade, a favorite meeting place of young people, remained full until 2100 hours and in an almost holiday atmosphere. There were more young people on the promenade than on the previous nights. About 1900 hours a cordon of police was set up on both sides of the main street, on the curb. The secondary and university students calmly continued their promenade.

From time to time, at uniform intervals, shouts, whistling and hissing in unison were heard from the participants in the corso. All of this was directed practically into the faces of members of the security force, also young, and among them were quite a few reservists that evening. The security forces looked calmly on at this provocative challenging of the representatives of authority. Even this time they did not intervene with the use of force. Only after 2100 hours did the corso begin to dwindle and the young people went away home. Something similar was repeated in Vucitrn, Suva Reka and Podujevo.

#### Seduced or Saturated

The children in Pristina no longer play cowboy and Indians, Partisans and Germans, but demonstrators and police, and here they jokingly refer to the men in blue uniforms as "delegates of all the republics and provinces." The boys here have their local heroes, everything depends on which side their parents are on. From the early years, this we were able to see for ourselves in certain houses, both Serbian and Albanian, the children here begin to play with real pistols. They do not hear as often as other children the classic fairy tales about good and bad people. They have hardly begun to talk when the iron law of this area begins to apply to them, people are first recognized and set apart on the basis of their nationality. An outsider who does not have ethnic prejudices is dumbfounded when he realizes that after a day or two of being in this environment even he begins to fight against this temptation. From the day nursery the Albanians do not mix with the Serbian and Montenegrin children, and it was with good reason that they boasted in the Provincial Conference of Women that they would demand that the children in day nurseries belonging to the different nationalities be brought together at least during play and at meals.

Whether we want to admit it or not, the irredentists have sown their seeds of enmity in Kosovo. And that is the most dangerous traits which they have left behind them, many of the best comrades, neighbors, Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins bearing an equal ethnic burden, have relented in the face of this evil. New trenches of mistrust and suspense have come to divide one from the other. You need not ask them anything, many do not even want to say what they think, it is enough just to listen to their children.

We saw 10-year-old boys and girls gather in groups on street corners and shout: "Albanians, Serbs, Turks, Join Together for a Better Future."

A person reporting from Kosovo is perforce the witness of a sad truth: The secondary school children, the smooth-cheeked boys and girls who are truly convinced they are fighting for the freedom of their people, are the strongest weapons of the Irredenta! If only that were so! But it is unfreedom that lies on the other side of the irredentist illusions! That is why it was a wise thing, though there are those who think differently and demanded different behavior, that the clubs and guns were not sent against those children. To what point will this patience endure, will the enemy be satisfied with peaceful demonstrations, or will he send these innocent (seduced or saturated) children into a bloody skirmish. That would be a great tragedy not only for Kosovo, but also for Yugoslavia. A new question for a more thorough debate is how the enemy managed to rally the young people, to make of them the principal "heroes" of the day on the Kosovo political scene, to show confidence in them. Is it possible that the heroes of the counterrevolution are being sought mainly in the schools and at the university? That is the way it appears, but it would be a major historical mistake not to go further than the appearance.

It would be politically impermissible in this most up-to-date report from Kosovo to pass over in silence the fact that the party members and progressive forces in the province, who are especially numerous among the Albanians, are at the enemy's throat on an everyday basis. An almost exhausting sociopolitical effort is taking place in the province, recalling those well-known times of SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia]. The press has reported that several provincial and opstina officials were with the demonstrators, that they attempted to tear their banner bearing the words "Kosovo a Republic." Certain differences were noted among the activists as well as among the officials: some were for reconciliation and maintaining the status quo situation, while others feel that without deep incisions and correction of shortcomings on which the enemy built his policy, no lasting settlement of accounts with them can be expected. There are yet others who wink one eye at the nationalists and the other at Yugoslav patriotism. The latter are referred to as Trojan horses, people who seem to be concerned only about their personal positions and posts and who very easily band together and seek support with like-minded brothers from the other fraternal republics.

How perfidiously the policy of the irredentists and Albanian chauvinists has been conceived can also be seen from the datum that they have managed rather successfully to isolate progressive Albanians from the people, calling them "traitors." They are being supported, probably unwillingly, even by many party members by virtue of their opportunism, silence and wait-and-see



attitude. "Don't be hasty" has become almost ingrained as popular wisdom through various historical circumstances in Kosovo. We are aware of that, but in this case it is difficult for us not to put an unpleasant question: Can the Yugoslav revolution give way under the pressure of this historic legacy and under the blow of the counterrevolution? On the other side the irredentists have been almost public in glorifying many dismissed officials and arrested leaders as "heroes." Certain former officials are even publicly threatening the present ones!? The irredentists have even instilled disquiet in progressive Albanian homes, threatening their members. It would be tragic, and there are such tendencies, for all Albanians to be proclaimed enemies of Yugoslavia. A university professor, a party activist, was not the only one to tell us:

"I am ashamed of what has happened. It is always unpleasant for me to have to meet my friends and comrades from the other republics."

Perhaps this anxiety was best expressed by a mother, an educated woman with a refined feeling for those times when the Yugoslav revolution has gone through various trials, when along with the enemy the "wave of the purge" also caught innocent people. As we were leaving her house, her last words to us were these:

"It is not important about us. We will fight, it will not be easy, but I am certain that the irredentists and chauvinists will not win this dirty war. My fear is for my children. I am beside myself with fear that tomorrow they might be branded as a people hostile to Yugoslavia only because they are Albanian."

#### Sympathy for Albanian System

Zagreb POLET in Serbo-Croatian 24 Mar 82 p 11

[Article by Kresimir Meler: "Kosovo: From Close Up"]

[Text] At the entrance to Pristina we were stopped by an armed police patrol. After checking our documents, they let us pass, and we entered Pristina.

The hostile activity of Albanian irredentists is noticeable everywhere.

Quite a few walls have been partly painted over with white paint. Traces of nationalistic slogans.

At about 1100 hours we passed the Student Center. We heard shouts from the settlement. We managed to distinguish: "Enver Hoxha," "Down with the traitors." We heard cries and whistles. The police soon appeared. They blocked the entrances to the student dormitories and moved toward the demonstrators. Many other policemen arrived, fully armed. All traffic was restricted to the main streets.

Some of the students hastily dispersed and then quickly reappeared at other places.

Somewhat later a group of some 500 demonstrators, coming from the direction of the Student Center, tried to break through to the center of the city.

Cordons of police prevented them. Here and there the police used clubs. Tear gas was used only when other means were of no avail. The evening was awaited with trepidation. It was thought that the daytime demonstrations were only a test.

In the evening some 70 or 80 young people were in the corso. They whistled and let out some unarticulated cries (a la "Last cries from the savannah"). There are in any case many people at this Pristina promenade, mostly young people. There are also elderly people with canes. What they have in common is that a majority are wearing black-red clothing and white skullcaps?

They join the ones making the noise, and the group grows to some 150 demonstrators.

Suddenly the police begin to surround the demonstrators. The latter quickly begin to disperse "heroically." Some of them vanish in the side streets.

Nevertheless, there are also those who behave very aggressively and throw things at the police.

Again the clubs came into play, and these "heroes" disperse. Some pass by, some the police arrest.

I meet a small group which the police have let go.

I ask for a light so as to allay their distrust. They ask where I am from? I tell them. One of them says to me:

"You are lucky!"

I talked with two young women.

One said to me: What do you think about what is happening here? Without waiting for an answer, she went on:

"We have to win. We have to achieve a better social system, equality, like they have in Albania."

A second young woman: "They do not have injustices like this in Albania, shortages, social differences. It would be worth dying for those ideals." An older Albanian man broke into the conversation: "Why do you trust him, how do you know who he is, perhaps he is an agent."

As he said this he thrust his hand into his pocket. Pretty well frightened, I left this group.

Along the way I fell to thinking. It is really improbable the way young people can be so indoctrinated. To the limit (if not beyond) of fanaticism.

About the wonderful Albanian system in which you can end up in some "labor camp" even because of your dreams.

It was not just the police dispersing the demonstrators. I also had occasion to see them being effectively opposed by university students and workers as well. Surprised, the demonstrators dispersed in a moment.

The story of an incident in Vucitrn is passed from hand to hand, not without ridicule of the "frightening demonstrators": It seems that an old peasant, an Albanian, literally beat up a demonstrator. He must truly have been horrified.

There were frequent cases of this kind of resistance of the public to the demonstrators, though our press (who knows why) hardly mentions it at all.

Even without the demonstrations the irredentists in Kosovo are creating many problems.

There are frequent attacks on the homes of Serbs and Montenegrins, as well as on members of the Albanian nationalities who have dared to oppose the irredentists. Recently a woman was seriously wounded while she was sitting in her home. The people guilty of the crime fled. Attacks on peaceable and innocent passersby are nothing unusual. Not even in broad daylight. There have also been attempts to set fire to individual dwellings.

It does not pay to frame any conclusions at this point. The general impression is that the demonstrations nevertheless did surprise certain responsible comrades (though they were announced).

Just a few days before the demonstrations Petar Kostic, secretary of the Presidium of the Kosovo Provincial Conference of the League of Communists, said in an interview with NIN: "Should the enemy at this point manage to conduct any sizable demonstration I think that all of us in positions of leadership should not only submit our resignations, but we should in fact be dismissed and arrested because of negligent performance of duty." These and similar assessments to the effect that the enemy has been beheaded, that the "organized socialist forces hold the situation firmly in their hands and that only petty little outbreaks are possible" will have to be revised by all appearances.

It is interesting that the Pristina newspaper JEDINSTVO asserts that 1,000 demonstrators participated in the demonstrations, while at the same time it makes the comment that no great numbers were involved.

If we take this remark as accurate (though the number of 2,000 demonstrators is also bandied about), we wonder how many people would have to demonstrate for the action by the irredentists to be "large-scale."

Much greater concern ought to be aroused by the fact that the demonstrations were irreproachably organized. Every observer could see that the irredentists were operating from several places in the city and that this was synchronized. The enemy had obviously thoroughly practiced the tactic of dispersal and rapid

reassembly. This method of operation, of peaceful demonstration, is also surprising. However, these peaceful demonstrators can alter their behavior at any moment.

Mostly young people were involved in the demonstrations, which shows that there are many oversights in the effort to bring them up (in the face of numerous assertions to the contrary). Figures according to which most of the criminal charges were filed following last year's demonstrations against university and secondary school students prove the fact that the greatest indoctrination affected those attending educational centers.

It does not take many words to say what happened and why.

The enemy is very persistent. He wants to maintain continuity of his activities at any price. The ultimate goal of these activities is to arouse ethnic enmity.

Young people were again in the front ranks in the recent demonstrations. No longer can there be or should there be any talk about their being led astray or being uninformed.

Nor should yet another mistaken assessment of the situation be allowed, a covering up of the problems and diversion of attention somewhere else. Especially not after the assessment of the Kosovo Provincial Conference of the League of Communists to the effect "that it is not impossible that the hostile activity might continue with various methods and means."

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